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# FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

CLOSED
UNTIL
1974

# TURKEY.

## PART VI.

OCTOBER TO DECEMBER 1923.

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# Further Correspondence respecting Turkey.

## Part VI.

[P 1367/1/150] No. 1.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 2.)*

(No. 600.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 26, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowlege the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 760 of the 17th September in regard to the reception and distribution of British official wireless messages after the evacuation of Constantinople.

2. So long as H.M.S. "Comus" or any other British warship remains in the Bosphorus it should not be difficult to arrange for the continued distribution as heretofore of the Leafield messages which it picks up. This procedure can be continued till the Treaty of Lausanne is ratified and the last British warship withdrawn from Turkish waters.

3. Once normal conditions are re-established, the problem is a double one, and concerns (*a*) reception and (*b*) distribution.

4. Distribution should afford no insuperable difficulty. The sources of information of the Turkish newspapers are so scanty and meagre that news of any kind, especially if supplied gratuitously or at a nominal price, would in all probability be welcomed and published without hesitation. It is likely that an agreement in this respect will be concluded between the Turkish Anatolian agency in Angora and the Havas-Reuter agency here. According to Reuter's correspondent, negotiations have already been begun with the Turkish agency on a basis whereby the latter will join the Havas-Reuter group on payment of an annual subscription. I gather that if it is not found possible to reach an agreement in this respect the Havas-Reuter agency here will be obliged by the Turkish authorities to close down, and a monopoly for news will be granted to the Anatolian agency. Seeing that the latter has no organisation capable of supplying it with world news, I can scarcely believe that this alternative would prove gratifying to the Turkish press. If, on the other hand, an agreement be arrived at, it should not be difficult for Reuter's to supply the agency here with purely British news, instead of, as at present, with news almost exclusively compiled in Paris.

5. There are, however, two obstacles which may upset a suitable arrangement in this respect. First, the Turks may prefer to count on getting all their news by intercepting wireless messages without payment rather than to pay a subscription to Havas-Reuter in order to receive news over the cables. Secondly, purely British messages cannot be sent by telegraph without cost. The French Government consider the Havas messages of sufficient value to them for propaganda and other purposes to subscribe a considerable sum, varying from 30*l.* to 50*l.* a month, to make good the losses incurred at present by the Havas-Reuter agency in receiving, printing and distributing the telegraphic news supplied to it from Paris. We should have to do the same in respect of purely British messages sent out by Reuter. In fact, none of the Turkish newspapers are affluent enough to pay a sufficient sum to agencies for their news to enable them to be run on a profit-making basis.

6. Nor do I think that it will ever be easy to arrange for the distribution in Turkey of British news from British sources except at a financial loss. There is but one

purely British newspaper in Constantinople, the "Orient News," which has eked out a precarious existence on its circulation to the British forces of occupation. Even with that support it has only just managed to keep its head above water, and it is most doubtful whether it can long be maintained in its present form. It is true that it has been to some extent handicapped owing to the very fact that the Army Signal Corps has published broadcast its leaflets of British news, but the English reading public of Constantinople is never likely to be large enough to make of an English newspaper a paying proposition. The alternative for the "Orient News" is a bilingual production, Anglo-French or Anglo-Turkish, but in such I have uncommonly little faith, nor do I believe that they are ever really successful. Of course, if His Majesty's Government were prepared to subsidise it on the same lines as those on which the French propagandist newspaper, the "Stamboul," has to be subsidised—though I am unaware to what extent—in spite of the extensive French-reading Turkish population of Constantinople, the continued existence of the "Orient News" might be assured, especially if it were possible to give it exclusive rights to British wireless news. Otherwise, I fear that it is doomed in a little while to extinction.

7. The question of exclusive rights is connected with the second aspect of this problem, namely (*a*) the continued reception of the British official wireless messages. Would His Majesty's Government be prepared to authorise the installation of a receiving wireless set on the roof of His Majesty's Embassy in Constantinople? Its initial cost would not be great, but its working would entail the upkeep of one or two wireless operators. There is, I believe, a wireless installation on the American Embassy, and the French Embassy has followed this example and engaged for the purpose three of the French operators who have hitherto been employed at the Osmanieh station.

8. Were a similar receiving set installed on the Embassy, it should not be found difficult to arrange for the distribution of the news so received, and in this respect it might perhaps be found feasible to give a certain preference to the "Orient News" in so far as social, financial and other matters are concerned, which are essentially of interest to British readers and of minor value to the general public.

9. There is, of course, a political consideration involved in the installation of wireless on an Embassy. It could scarcely be done without the knowledge of the Turks, and presumably their consent. I am unaware whether foreign Embassies in London are authorised to have their own receiving sets. I presume that they are, in which case the question of that reciprocity on which the Turks would be certain at least to insist would be solved.

10. Another possibility would be open for me, and that is on the ground of general interest to the Turkish public, to ask the Turkish Government to allow their wireless to take in the British Leafield and to communicate copies daily to this Embassy. The disadvantages of this course would be, first, the incompetency of the Turkish operators, who would probably mutilate, wittingly or unwittingly, the messages so received in English; secondly, the certainty that the Turks would ask for reciprocity. I am not in a position to judge here how far that reciprocity would be prejudicial to British interests elsewhere. If Great Britain alone be contemplated I should imagine such prejudice to be negligible, but this would probably not be the case if reciprocity were demanded in certain British dominions or mandated territories. Thirdly, the Turks would request some financial return for this concession. Though this might possibly be partly defrayed by a British chamber of commerce anxious to obtain reliable and purely British news, it is doubtful whether such an arrangement could be made without some charge falling on public funds.

11. To sum up—

(1.) I can probably, and am endeavouring to, make a temporary arrangement without cost whereby the Leafield press will continue to be distributed so long as a British warship remains stationed here, say, till the end of the year.

(2.) When this is no longer possible the alternatives would seem to be either (*a*) the installation of a wireless receiving set on the Embassy or (*b*) an arrangement with the Turks for the reception at one of their wireless stations of the British Leafield messages. Of these two alternatives (*a*) would be the most satisfactory, if it were feasible and His Majesty's Government sanctioned the inevitable expense; (*b*) would be less expensive, but is open to greater objections.

12. Generally speaking, I do not believe that any practicable method can be evolved that will not entail a charge on public funds. It is a question of the value of



propaganda. The benefits of propaganda are undoubted, but how far those benefits in Turkey are commensurate with the sums of money disbursed is disputable. During the early days of the occupation vast quantities of British periodicals and literature were unloaded on this High Commission for distribution. My personal opinion is that the outlay here was entirely wasted. The French, it is true, devote large sums on propaganda in the Near East, but they are particularly favoured in this respect since French is the language of culture in Turkey and there are few educated Turks who cannot read and speak it. The only foreign newspaper in Constantinople that is either a credit to its producers or widely read is the "Stamboul." But by far the most effective form of French propaganda is exercised through the French educational and religious establishments. French propaganda for these reasons will always be a potential danger to British interests in Turkey, nor do I think that this can be altered so long as France remains the spiritual home of the educated Turk.

13. Nevertheless, it is clearly undesirable that there should be no restriction on undiluted French propaganda. In the past the principal check has been, and in the future will continue to be, the British individual. The Turk is essentially liable to personal influence, and I regard the British subject as Great Britain's best propaganda. Still, it cannot be doubted that the continued distribution of British news in Turkey would be of considerable benefit, both as a means to counteract French and other propaganda and to give the Turk a better understanding of British aims and policy. If such a theory is worth supporting some charge must be allowed to fall on public funds. If this be sanctioned, the course which I would recommend would be establishment of a wireless receiving set on His Majesty's Embassy, provided I be first authorised to arrange with the Turkish Government that the reception of wireless messages by such an installation would be facilitated and no objection raised to the distribution of the news received thereat.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON,
*Acting High Commissioner*

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[E 9774/199/44] No. 2.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 2.)*

(No. 601.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 25 1923.*

WITH the approach of the date for the final evacuation of Turkish territory by the Allied forces, the situation at Angora has become pregnant with possibilities.

2. Most of the newspapers on the 23rd instant published telegrams from their Angora correspondents indicating that Cabinet dissensions had arisen and that certain resignations were pending. Only one Turkish and one French newspaper, however, reproduced a declaration (the French text of which I have the honour to enclose), which Mustafa Kemal Pasha was stated to have made to the Angora correspondent of the "Neue Freie Presse," to the effect that the only word in the dictionary which could be applied to the form of government existing at Angora, where all executive and legislative power was concentrated in one Assembly, was the word "republic"; that the future Government of Turkey would be a democratic republic, and that "the centre of "the Turkish Republic is Angora."

3. The logical inference to be drawn from this statement is that the President of that Assembly is *ipso facto* the President of that republic.

4. Apart from one press telegram yesterday, which stated that nothing was known at Angora regarding the supposed interview, all subsequent reports from the capital are confirmatory of its accuracy, and it has been freely commented on in the local Turkish press. The latter incline for the moment to adopt an attitude of reserved approval, pointing out that for all practical purposes the proposed change will be merely one of form. Nevertheless, it seems to be realised that considerable opposition will be encountered. Of this opposition, the independent "Tewhid," which has of late become increasingly critical of the present Administration and its methods, has made itself the mouthpiece by pointing out that the present Assembly was elected on a definite mandate in which no fresh constitutional convulsion was contemplated.

5. Meanwhile it seems that no time is to be lost in putting the proposed changes into execution. An important conference of the People's party, which amounts to a secret meeting of the Assembly, has been announced for to-day, when the reforms

will be discussed. The nature of the latter have almost certainly been already decided, but there is some speculation as to the exact designation of the future State. "The State of the Turkish People," "The Republic of the Turkish People," and, more simply, "The Turkish Republic," are all canvassed, but, in order to emphasise the democratic nature of the Government of the new Turkey, it seems probable that either the first or second of these will be selected. The name is, however, immaterial. The importance of the change lies in the fact that Kemal has apparently at last judged the moment to be ripe for asserting his ascendancy in form as well as in practice. Such a development has for a long time past seemed inevitable, and I reported, in fact, some months ago that Mustafa Kemal would probably select the moment of the final liberation of Constantinople as a suitable occasion. Diplomatic relations with foreign countries are also on the eve of being restored, and the failure of the Persian Ambassador's recent mission to Angora has shown to Mustafa Kemal that his position as the Head of the State cannot be taken for granted by foreign Powers.

6. Whatever opposition may be subsequently encountered in the country, and it will certainly be strong in Constantinople, it is already evident that the new proposals have not even the approval of all the members of the present Cabinet. One member, Mahmoud Essad Bey, Minister for Economic Affairs, has already resigned according to some reports for reasons of fatigue, and, according to others, on account of the criticism to which he had been subjected at recent party meetings. Other resignations reported to be imminent are those of the Ministers of Public Instruction, of Finance and of Justice, the last of whom was only appointed six weeks ago.

7. The vacant place in the Ministry has been filled by the election yesterday of Hassan Bey, who, as Turkish financial expert at the Conference of Lausanne, is known to your Lordship. A native of Trebizond, which he represents in the Assembly, Hassan Bey was successively Minister of Finance and of Economic Affairs during 1921 and 1922. On his failure to secure re-election when the Angora Cabinet collectively resigned in July of last year, he was replaced by Mahmoud Essad Bey, whom he now succeeds. It is interesting to note, as a symptom of the control still exercised by Mustafa Kemal over his followers, that at the party meeting Hassan Bey received only 96 votes against 56 cast for a rival candidate, while in the subsequent public sitting of the Assembly he received the support of 154 Deputies.

8. In previous despatches I have referred to the formal nature of the Assembly's meetings, which are merely held to confirm decisions already arrived at by the party meeting *in camerâ*. During the last week these secret meetings have, it is reported, been the occasion of heated discussions on a project for the imposition of a veto against the future employment in any official capacity of officers, diplomats and other public servants who before the signature of the Mudania Convention had not accorded their support to the Nationalist cause. No decision on this point has yet been reached, but the Constantinople press in general has signified its disapproval of a proposal which would inevitably strengthen the existing opposition elements, and would at the same time arbitrarily deprive the State of the services of experienced officials at a time when the co-operation of the whole Turkish people is so essential.

9. In connection with the above, and the probable imminence of constitutional developments, it is interesting to note the reports which have reached me from various sources in regard to the renewed activity of the Unionist organisation, which, as your Lordship is aware, has for some time had its headquarters at Smyrna, and is said to be preparing the ground for its emergence as an active opposition. With this end in view, Dr. Nazim Bey, one of its leading members, has recently come to Constantinople and got into touch with certain ex-Kemalist Ministers and others who are ready to work against Kemal Pasha. On the 16th instant a meeting was held at which it was understood that, with the alleged cognisance of Reouf Bey, Nazim Bey suggested that all the oppositionist groups should co-ordinate their activities and draw up a common programme. As an incentive he stated that the funds of the old Unionist party would be put at the disposal of the new group. After considerable discussion it was decided that Nazim Bey's proposal should be examined, and that, if common ground for co-operation could be found, the local oppositionists would give their support. In the meantime Nazim Bey remains here, and it is not inconceivable, in view of the raising of the republican issue, which has coincided with the reception by the Caliph, formerly an ardent partisan of the Committee of Union and Progress, of several members of the former Constantinople Government and of others, such as Refet Pasha, whose loyalty to Kemal can no longer be relied upon, that a counter-*coup* may at least be under consideration in Constantinople itself.

10. From the Presidency of the Turkish Republic and thence to Sultan of the



Turks and the creation of a new dynasty are shorter steps than some of those which Mustafa Kemal has already taken. In this connection I hear that there is a prospect that Latife Hanoum may before long present him with an heir to the throne to which he is possibly aspiring. But it remains to be seen whether the House of Osman will submit without a struggle and be content with the retention for itself of an impotent Caliphate. Once Turkish territory is finally freed from all external pressure, there are many elements which might combine against the pretensions of an usurper and in support of a dynasty which, in spite of all its degeneracy during the past two centuries, must still command many loyal and devoted adherents among the Turkish nation. Any attempt on these lines which might be made now would, however, appear to be ill-advised. As soon as the Allied forces of occupation have departed, Kemal will doubtless send a considerable force of his troops into Constantinople. The key of the situation is the army, and his main object in so doing would be to overawe the dissatisfaction which he has seen growing in Constantinople against the Kemalist organisation and to check any possibility of its becoming dangerous. His alleged motive will be a triumphal liberation, which is so indisputable that it cannot fail to be popularly welcomed. Were an anti-Kemalist *coup* contemplated, it would seem a mistake not to wait till the influences of Constantinople had had time to work not only on the loyalty and discipline of the Kemalist troops, but also on the Deputies and officials who will probably flock here from the Anatolian backwoods. The future struggle will lie not merely between Ottomans—the word which Kemal has endeavoured, with some success, to eradicate from the Turkish language—and Kemalists, but between Constantinople and Angora. There can neither be two Kings nor two Brentfords in Turkey.

I have, &c.

NEVILE HENDERSON,
*Acting High Commissioner.*

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Enclosure in No. 2.

*Extract from the "Journal d'Orient" of September 23, 1923.*

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IMPORTANTES DÉCLARATIONS DE GHAZI KÉMAL PACHA.

LE parti populaire commencera dans une quinzaine de jours la discussion de la loi sur la Charte constitutionnelle, à laquelle d'importantes modifications seront apportées. Son Excellence Ghazi Moustafa Kémal Pacha, dans une interview accordée aujourd'hui au correspondant de la "Neue Freie Presse," en réponse à la question posée par ce dernier tendant à savoir si la loi de statut organique a été entièrement élaborée et si les affaires intérieures continuent à se développer de façon satisfaisante, a fait les déclarations suivantes :

"Les dispositions de notre statut organique stipulent que la souveraineté
"appartient sans réserve au peuple.

"Il y est clairement stipulé que le pouvoir d'exécution, le droit de législation
"sont concentrés dans l'Assemblée, qui est l'unique et la vraie représentante de la
"nation. Pour exprimer ces deux termes en un seul mot dans quelque dictionnaire
"que l'on cherche on trouvera le mot 'république.'

"Par conséquent, le développement intérieur de la Turquie n'a pas encore pris
"fin. Il y aura encore des modifications et des perfectionnements. Tous ces
"perfectionnements et modifications vont aboutir aux principes régissant la
"république. Il y aura en Turquie une république démocratique peut-être encore
"plus prononcée que celle d'aujourd'hui. Celle-ci ne différera en aucune façon des
"principes ayant cours dans les républiques d'Occident."

Le correspondant de la "Neue Freie Presse" ayant voulu savoir quelle serait la future capitale de la Turquie, Ghazi Moustafa Kémal Pacha a répondu comme suit :

"Les événements se sont chargés de déterminer eux-mêmes notre capitale.
"Il n'y a plus une question de chef-lieu de Gouvernement. Angora est le centre
"de la République turque."

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[E 9804/1019/65] No. 3.

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Henderson (Constantinople).*

(No. 301.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, October 2, 1923.*

UNDER article 7 of the evacuation protocol, negotiations for the frontier between Turkey and Irak should open as soon as the evacuation operations are complete, namely, at the end of six weeks from the date of the ratification of the Treaty of Angora. Under the same article, the nine months' period is to date from the day on which negotiations are opened. The Colonial Office Air Ministry and High Commissioner at Bagdad are anxious that period of nine months should begin to run at earliest possible date, as question of reducing garrison will arise after the nine months have elapsed. It is therefore essential that some communication should be made to Adnan Bey at once, to which we could later refer as amounting to the opening of negotiations in the sense of article 7.

My present idea is that actual discussions with Turkish representatives should take place in London, and I am considering the appointment of Sir H. Rumbold to conduct them on the British side He will not, however, be back from Ceylon until 15th December, and in the meanwhile written or verbal communications between you and Adnan Bey will have to take place in order to keep negotiations in being until Sir H. Rumbold's return.

Please, therefore, send a formal written note on 4th October to Adnan Bey, simply stating that His Majesty's Government are opening negotiations on the question of the Turco-Irak frontier and will be glad to learn whether the Turkish Government wish to present a written statement of their case and to exchange notes upon it before verbal discussions take place, or whether they would prefer latter alone. In the latter case His Majesty's Government will be glad to learn in what place and on what date the Turkish Government wish them to begin. Note should be carefully framed to constitute opening of negotiations without actually stating that His Majesty's Government regard it as a formal opening of negotiations in the sense of the last paragraph of article 7 of the evacuation protocol. This will, however, be our tacit contention.

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[E 9860/7734/44] No. 4.

*Extract from Despatch No. 3174 to Paris.*

*Foreign Office, October 3, 1923.*

THE French Ambassador called upon me this afternoon on a visit, as he described it, of courtesy. He went on to say that there were two subjects on which he desired to say a word.

The first was the action to be taken by the Allied Governments with regard to appointing Ambassadors at the future Turkish capital. This was a question which I had raised a little while ago, when I had asked the French, assuming that all the great Powers would have Ambassadors, what we should do if the Turkish Government ignored Constantinople, made, as they were believed likely to make, Angora their capital, and asked that the Ambassadors, if appointed, should go there.

I had pointed out that the total absence of convenience, and indeed the almost savage barbarity of Angora, rendered it out of the question that foreign representatives of high rank should go to a place where there were not even residences in which they could dwell; and I had raised the question whether, in the circumstances, we should send Ambassadors to Constantinople, declining to allow them to go to Angora, or only have some representative of lower rank in their place. The French Government had now apparently come round to my way of thinking. The Ambassador told me that in no circumstances would they dream of sending an Ambassador to Angora, and that if the latter was chosen as the capital they thought that the whole question ought to be reopened. I concurred in this view, and said that I should be happy to discuss the question again when the moment arrived.

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[E 9796/7781/44] No. 5.

*Foreign Office to War Office.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 5, 1923.*

I AM directed by the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to transmit to you herewith, to be laid before the Army Council, the accompanying copy of a telegram from the Acting British High Commissioner at Constantinople reporting the completion of the evacuation of Constantinople.

2. The Secretary of State has read with pleasure Mr. Henderson's tribute to Lieutenant-General Sir C. Harington, and he will be glad, in view of the close relations which have prevailed between the diplomatic and military authorities at Constantinople, if the Army Council will be so good as to convey an expression of his cordial congratulations and thanks to Sir C. Harington and to the forces under his command for the admirable manner in which they have met the vicissitudes of the long and trying period of the occupation of Constantinople and the Straits and for the successful completion of their task.

I am, &c.
LANCELOT OLIPHANT.

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Enclosure in No. 5.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 3.)*

(No. 485.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, October 2, 1923.*

GENERAL HARINGTON and last contingent of British forces in Turkey left this afternoon at 3 P.M. on steamship "Arabic," followed by Admiral Watson on H.M.S. "Marlborough." French and Italian generals left at the same time.

Whole evacuation of Constantinople has been carried out without hitch or incident of any kind, and reflects greatest credit on General Harington and all officers and men under his command.

Please inform War Office.

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No. 6.

*Mr. Bentinck to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 6.)*

(No. 447.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Athens, October 6, 1923.*

MY telegram No. 445.

My Italian colleague has now received instructions to act with his colleagues in sense of your telegram No. 341 to Paris. My French colleague has received no such instructions, but understands that League of Nations commissioner has already been appointed.

As matter seems now to be settling itself there appears to us now to be no need to take any action in the sense of your telegram to Paris.

(Repeated to Rome, No. 102, and Constantinople, No. 187.)

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[E 9950/7781/44] No. 7.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 8.)*

(No. 608.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, September 30, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of a letter which I have received from the General Officer Commanding-in-chief the British Forces in Turkey expressing his appreciation of the assistance rendered to him by the British High Commission during the past three years, together with copy of the reply which I have returned to Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Harington.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON,
*Acting High Commissioner.*

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Enclosure 1 in No. 7.

*Lieutenant-General Sir C. Harington to Mr. Henderson.*

*Constantinople, September 26, 1923.*

Your Excellency,

BEFORE leaving Constantinople I should like to express to you and to your staff my sincere gratitude for all the unfailing help which has been extended to myself and to the British corps of occupation during the past three years.

I feel myself that our work together and the work between our respective staffs has not only been a pleasure, but it has also been of great use to both services, as it has enabled us each to learn the other's point of view and difficulties. It has been an unique experience for us all, and I do not think such another example can be found of the diplomatic, naval, military and air forces working in such close relation. Considering the difficulties with which we have been faced at times of almost every question, requiring three Allied Governments or three Allied admirals or generals to agree upon it, I think we have reason to be glad that we have managed to steer through to the present situation. I am quite sure that it is only the goodwill shown on all sides which has enabled us to do so.

I shall always be mindful of the many kindnesses and firm support given to me both by his Excellency Sir Horace Rumbold, Bt., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., and by yourself. I recall many instances of prompt intervention and action being taken by you both in order to help me. I consider our work together will always form a good example of the importance of policy and strategy working hand in hand.

Thank you again so much for all your help. I shall always look back with pleasure on our time here together.

I have, &c.

C. H. HARINGTON, *Lieutenant-General,*
*Commanding-in-chief the British Forces in Turkey.*

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Enclosure 2 in No. 7.

*Mr. Henderson to Lieutenant-General Sir C. Harington.*

*Constantinople, September 29, 1923.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, in which you were good enough to express your thanks for such assistance as this High Commission has been able to afford to you personally, to your staff and to the army under your command.

2. In expressing to you my most sincere thanks for your appreciation of those services, I desire to say that they have been more than repaid by the assistance and cordial co-operation on which the High Commission has so consistently been able to rely on the part of yourself and your staff in all questions which have been of joint interest to us.

3. I should like also to take this opportunity of conveying to you an expression of our admiration of the behaviour of the British forces here during the many trying periods through which they have passed during the occupation of Constantinople.

4. The conduct of the British army during this period will, I feel sure, long be remembered in Turkey, and I cannot but feel that many will look back with regret upon its final evacuation, and will miss the presence of troops whose conduct has so worthily upheld our national prestige in these parts.

I am sending a copy of your letter to Sir Horace Rumbold.

I have, &c.

NEVILE HENDERSON,
*Acting High Commissioner.*

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[E 9961/7781/44] No. 8.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 8.)*

(No 622.)

My Lord,

*Constantinople, October 2, 1923.*

AS I had the honour to report to your Lordship in my telegram No. 485, Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Harington and his staff and the last contingent of the British forces in Turkey left Constantinople on board the steamship "Arabic" this afternoon. The "Arabic" was followed by the "Graz" and the "Medie II," with Generals Mombelli and Charpy and the last Italian and French contingents, and escorted by H.M.S. "Marlborough" flying the flag of Rear-Admiral Watson. Their departure constituted the final act in the evacuation of the Allied forces, which has been carried out without a hitch or incident of any kind—a satisfactory consummation which reflects the highest credit on General Harington and all the officers and men under his command.

2. The final proceedings on shore took the form of a short but impressive military parade, the details of which are described in the programme attached to this despatch.* British, French, Italian and Turkish detachments took part, the colours of each being saluted in turn, in the presence of the Allied generals, Allied High Commissioners, Turkish civil and military representatives, the diplomatic representatives of neutral Powers and a very dense crowd of Turks.

3. The British guard of honour was furnished by 100 men from the 2nd battalion of the Grenadier Guards and the 3rd battalion of the Coldstream, together with a colour party of the Irish Guards. The Turks could not resist the impression given by the magnificent appearance, bearing and drill of the British detachment, which alone was cheered by the Turks themselves as it marched off the ground and all through the streets to the quay, where it embarked about a mile away. I do not think that this last impression will be easily forgotten.

4. Immediately on the close of this parade, which took place on the square by the Dolma Baghtche Quay, Sir Charles Harington and his Allied colleagues proceeded to the vessels which were to convey them to their respective destinations. About an hour later I followed Sir Charles Harington on board the steamship "Arabic" in order officially to wish him good-bye and to express to him my personal appreciation of the very generous help and consideration which I have never failed to experience at his hands during the various periods that I have had the honour to be in charge of His Majesty's High Commission.

5. It only remains for me now to report officially to your Lordship my deep acknowledgment of that help, as well as my sense of appreciation of the very valuable services which Sir Charles Harington has rendered to His Majesty's Government during the tenure of his appointment at Constantinople.

6. In their larger sense these services are of course already well known to your Lordship, but I refer here to those connected with the solution, often with consummate tact and patience, of the many local difficulties and delicate situations, the details of which must be unknown to your Lordship with which he has had to deal under the very abnormal conditions which have obtained here during the last twelve months. By the force of his own personality General Harington succeeded in winning the complete confidence and respect of the Turks. This was conspicuously apparent during the final six weeks' period of the evacuation, which was carried out in a manner which has greatly enhanced British prestige in this country.

7. Nor can I omit to bring to your Lordship's notice the cordial co-operation of the army staff, which has done much to simplify our common task in Turkey.

8. I should be grateful if your Lordship would see fit to convey to the Army Council an expression of your Lordship's thanks for the great assistance and loyal support which has invariably been rendered to this High Commission by General Harington and the forces under his command. The close relations between us has enormously facilitated my own task, and in this respect I am under a deep personal as well as official obligation.

9. It would also be fitting if a similar appreciation were addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty for the help and support accorded no less constantly and willingly to the High Commission throughout the long period of nearly five years' occupation by the Commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean station and the officers and men of His Majesty's ships here. The presence at Constantinople and in Turkish

* Not printed.

waters of this fleet has been a factor in the situation which cannot be too greatly emphasised and which has very largely contributed to the maintenance of British prestige in the Near East.

10. Nor can I end this despatch without a reference to the very efficient air force here under the command of Group-Captain Fellowes, which in this respect has also done its valuable share.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON,
*Acting High Commissioner.*

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[E 9963/199/44] No. 9.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received October* 8.)

(No. 624.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October* 2, 1923.

IN the course of the last week the official text was issued of the statement made by Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the correspondent of the "Neue Freie Presse" regarding the impending constitutional changes. It does not differ in any essential particular from the French text enclosed in my despatch No. 601 of the 25th ultimo.

2. In the meantime Angora is in the pangs of child-birth and the deliberations on the constitutional question are continuing, but without any definite decision having yet been reached. This delay is due to differences of opinion within the National Assembly as to the exact form the proposed changes should take. That a republican form of Government is desirable seems to be almost generally accepted, but it is evident that Mustafa Kemal has much opposition in respect of his personal position to contend with. He is doubtless determined to retain his ascendancy whatever the form of Government, and it is probably with this end in view that his warmest supporters are canvassing the proposal that the head of the new State should, lest he lose his control of party politics, at the same time be President of the Cabinet, as well as of the Assembly. Nor are there wanting those who go so far as to suggest that Mustafa Kemal should have the dignity of President conferred on him for life. It must, however, be admitted that the latter are in the minority, and unless Kemal feels himself strong enough to disregard the opposition it appears improbable that such a proposition will yet be put into effect.

3. The alternative to the complete ascendancy such as Mustafa Kemal would enjoy under the above scheme would be a republic somewhat on French lines, and it is in favour of this that moderate opinion would appear to be hardening. There are, however, also varying views as to the manner in which the Cabinet should be appointed. Some favour the nomination of its head by the President of the Republic, the former being given the right to select his colleagues either from the members of the Assembly or from outside, while others prefer that the President of the Council as well as the other Ministers should be elected by, and directly responsible to, the Assembly, as in the case at present. The existing system has, however, proved so unsatisfactory, even with an Assembly thoroughly under control, that it is not likely to command much support in the future.

4. In the meanwhile the postponement of definite action has afforded an opportunity for somewhat freer press criticism than was possible a week ago, and this all indicates that, whatever final proposals may be made, they can only be accepted after heated debate. Several of the organs of the Constantinople press are showing Unionist rather than Kemalist leanings, and, while the creation of a republic is favourably viewed in the abstract, the opportunity is seized by such papers as the "Tevhid," "Tanin" and "Ikdam" to direct attacks against the present Administration. One of these published in the "Ikdam" was of a particularly bitter nature. The internal situation, it stated, was growing steadily worse, while the fault lay entirely with the Turks themselves, who only know despotism and slavery, and are incapable of appreciating liberty.

5. Criticism of the manner in which the recent elections were carried out also continues. Reouf Bey has, I learn, been approached several times recently by the emissaries of Mustafa Kemal with a view to a working arrangement being reached, but on each occasion the ex-President of the Council advised the dissolution of the Assembly and the holding of fresh elections at which the people could be at liberty to signify their wishes. Refet Pasha, and even Ismet, are stated to be of the same



opinion, but for the present at least Mustafa Kemal shows no sign of accepting their advice.

6. Owing to the failure of Mustafa Kemal to clinch matters, the expected Cabinet crisis has been delayed, and no further resignations have as yet been announced. In the meantime, Ali Fuad Pasha, who, as reported in my despatch No. 533, was appointed to a military inspectorate, has been succeeded as Vice-President of the Assembly by Yussuf Kemal Bey, the former Minister for Foreign Affairs, who played such a prominent part in Anatolian politics up to the Conference of Mudania.

7. In connection with the appointment of Hassan Bey, as Minister of Economic Affairs, one interesting fact is reported, namely, that he made it a condition of his acceptance of the portfolio that he should be allowed to introduce a foreign expert into every section of his Department. This information has been universally welcomed by the Constantinople press, which has for some time been drawing attention to the country's need of foreign assistance. The same line has also been taken by the President of the Council in a statement regarding Austro-Turkish relations, which he has just made to a press correspondent. Turkey had, he said, much undeveloped wealth, but she had need of the assistance of the West to exploit it.

8. Perhaps the most significant feature of the last week has been a pronounced revulsion of feeling in favour of Constantinople as capital. This was first referred to in the press telegrams three days ago from Angora, and has since been confirmed by the receipt yesterday of the report of a debate which has just been concluded on a Bill for supplementary credits. Among these figured one of £T. 110,000 for the construction of a new Legislative Assembly at Angora. Such a proposal has raised the question of the capital in an acute form. After some debate this credit was dropped and referred to the Budget Commission, where it will rest until the moment is judged opportune for again raising the matter either on its own merits or as a part of the constitutional issue. The assumption by the Turks of undisputed control over Constantinople may, however, mark the point at which the tide will turn, and it is therefore possible that the seat of the Government may be transferred to the former capital earlier than at one time seemed probable. If, however, I be permitted to hazard a guess, I am inclined to think myself that the money will be voted but never disbursed.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON,
*Acting High Commissioner.*

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No. 10.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received October* 8.)

(No. 489.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October* 7, 1923.

YOUR telegram No. 305.

I am taking up question with Adnan, who will probably reply that details are required before authority for return can be granted.

I suspect stowaways to be Armenians liable for military service. If so their forcible return here will amount, if not to condemnation to death, to something not very different therefrom. Moreover, if I furnish details and names it may recoil on their families.

However inconvenient and costly it may be to make other arrangements, I deprecate, therefore, their return on the grounds of humanity.

(Repeated to Cairo, No. 12.)

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No. 11.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received October* 8.)

(No. 490.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, October* 7, 1923.

TURKISH troops entered Constantinople yesterday amidst scenes of much enthusiasm.

Good order was maintained and I have heard of no incidents. So far, word of command is clearly that there should be none.

The people sought however to interfere with the clean-up apparently to steal more refugee street demonstrations broke several times and stones Admiral has expressed deep regret and has undertaken to take vigorous measures for protection of persons I have stated that offenders would be sought and punished as well as police if found guilty of negligence and will visit with very severe penalties any theft or ill-treatment to estimate extent of damage According to general impression it was work of hooligans

I cannot exaggerate trouble which present restlessness of Turkish troops and authorities are creating in other ways and manner which is not encouraging Yesterday they again seized bridge boats see my telegram No 336 and I have addressed strong protest by letter to Admiral in charge of navy

Twenty-four officers notice was also given to Allied High Commissioners to withdraw all Turkish representatives at Angora Yesterday Turkish arsenal on the Golden Horn was put in possession of Allied High Commissioners to-day also all Turkish representatives are ordered to leave Constantinople within a certain number of days The latter was only received after our representatives had already left and are now awaiting instructions from their respective governments

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E 10068 1019 65] No. 2

*Memorandum on the Assyrian Refugees in Mesopotamia*

THE problem of dealing with the Assyrian refugees at the present time is twofold. In the first place the question of the disposal of refugees who have already arrived in Mesopotamia since the beginning of the war requires settlement. The Near East requires to know what is to be done with the remnants of a once numerous Assyrian Christian community in Northern Iraq, which, since the establishment of Iraqi authority under British protection still remains a source of danger especially in connection with the settlement of the Mosul boundary. The first of these questions will be dealt with first.

I

During the course of the war some 50,000 Assyrian refugees, men, women and children, fled from their homes in Hakkiari and Persian Kurdistan to the Russian lines in the Urmi district, where they were provided with rations and shelter. The collapse of the Russian front in the autumn of 1917 left the Assyrians entirely dependent on their own resources, and they began to move southwards in the direction of Lake Urmi, with the intention of crossing the frontier into Mesopotamia. Their progress was hampered by the Kurds, who attacked them on the way, and by the time they reached Hamadan, in Persia, their numbers had been reduced by about one-third. Here they were met by Major Stokes, who had been sent from Mesopotamia by the Chief Political Officer, Sir Percy Cox, to assist the refugees on their journey. Major Stokes succeeded in obtaining from the Persian Government the promise of a safe-conduct for the refugees through Persian territory, and by the end of January 1918 the greater part of the refugees had reached Kasr-i-Shirin, on the Persian frontier, where they were met by Assyrian officers sent from Baqubah, and by Lieutenant-Colonel Oates, who had been appointed Political Officer to the Assyrians. Lieutenant-Colonel Oates, who had been appointed Political Officer to the Assyrians, was instructed to arrange for the settlement of the refugees in the Baqubah district, where land was to be found for them. The refugees were then moved by rail to Baqubah, where they were met by Major Stokes, who had been appointed Political Officer to the Assyrians, and by Lieutenant-Colonel Oates, who had been appointed Political Officer to the Assyrians

and desirable if His Majesty's Government were willing to undertake more definite financial assistance to the Assyrian refugees since 1917 when the Assyrians first took sides with the Allies and offered [illegible] assistance to the Russian Northern Army Petrograd [illegible] conditions which the Assyrians have to face [illegible] problems that he stated would [illegible] appeal to the generosity of the people of this country. Persuaded by Russian [illegible] promises the Assyrians [illegible] Persian frontier [illegible] Russian [illegible] Britain [illegible] Assyrians [illegible] Christians [illegible] His Majesty's Government [illegible] immediate attention [illegible] Mosul [illegible] Assyrians [illegible] Persia [illegible] Assyrians [illegible] Assyrians [illegible] Assyrians

nation from its home to foreign countries on the grounds that the people were suffering from perhaps only temporary and probably quite unjustifiable nervousness as to their ultimate fate. British forces are not anxious to receive a large native element of this description. There is more reason to suppose that ex-ser Albania Argentine or Mexico would hold a different view. The willingness of the people themselves to leave when the time came is more than doubtful as they seem to have displayed to the past a singular attachment to their own country. While the difficulties from the practical point of view appear to be insuperable the political considerations are if anything even more weighty. One of the principal grounds for our demands from Turkey in regard to the settlement of the Mosul frontier reposes on the presence of Christians in the area which we desire shall be brought within the frontiers of Iraq. In Ecclesiastic there is a contradiction of our policy and deserves of the principal argument which we would use in forthcoming negotiations. Rather would it be the goal to hasten the repatriation of the refugees from Syria, Greece, to increase the numbers present than to diminish them in the manner suggested by His Majesty's High Commissioner for Iraq. There is one other argument of present importance the almost universal sense of comfort in Iraq that the Assyrians proud the best fighting material in the country. The Assyrian levies have done good service for the Iraq Government probably better than any other force and the new military force in that country have stated to be entirely dependable. Should a good Kurdish chief wish to pursue his factory which the constitution of the Government that treated the property could prevent almost completely except that contemplated by dispossessing the chief. Moreover, the Iraq Government whatever may be their feelings or the support of some of their Kurdish would probably not interfere with the position of the Assyrians.

Last there still being a grumbling dispute between Arabs and the Assyrian element in Mosul Province which could and I hold should not prevent the Assyrians from settling in Mosul Province. The leaning of the Government of the Arab chief is opposed to the Assyrian interests and sphere should the present be left to equally the responsibility of the Government of Great Britain has set at rest the right to minorities of other races within its borders which has led to which Forces are to be invested upon the first place to secure the repatriation of Northern Iraq of the Assyrian refugees at present in Russia, Greece, Near East. Having secured a large Christian element of a distinctly favourable type the question of their future would not at once disappear except that that of their safety in the mountains of Kurdistan under British protection would attract the totality of the Nestorian and Assyrian elements in the hill parts.

Apart from Mosul Iraq has every prospect of becoming the rather object of Near East assistance and it would be a pity if under the supervision and guidance of British officers Iraq were to become the victim of the intrigues of the Kurdish chiefs. The financial difficulties might be met as suggested by the gradual withdrawal of the subsidy after the withdrawal of the Mosul expedition. The proposal to grant Iraq extra-territorial rights such as were in 1921

*Foreign Office, October 11, 1923.*

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E 10036/5545/44 — No. 13

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Henderson (Constantinople)*

(No. 307.)
Telegraphic. *Foreign Office, October 12, 1923.*

YOUR Telegram No. 490 of the 7th October. Servian Government's policy of levying tolls on foreign vessels passing through the Iron Gates.

Your attention is invited to the fact that Servia has ratified the Convention and Statute of Barcelona, and has thereby undertaken to give to the vessels of all the Contracting States the same treatment as to her own vessels. Any discrimination in favour of Servian vessels would therefore be a breach of the Convention.

You should, therefore, make representations to the Turkish Government in the sense of the above, and should state that His Majesty's Government will support the Servian Government in any steps which they may take to secure the withdrawal of the discriminatory measures.

You should also inform the Turkish Government that His Majesty's Government have addressed a similar communication to the Servian Government.





No. 14

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 13.)*

(No. 490.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October 12, 1923.*

FOLLOWING from military attaché for War Office:

My French colleague informs me that reports from reliable source state that train exclusively loaded with artillery passed through Konia country 6th October coming from Afion Kara Hissar destination Eljezireh front.

Another report says that artillery of 14th division recently disbanded is being sent to Diarbekir. This report presumably refers to the same movement. In another French report saying that 14th cavalry division recently at Djihan on Syrian front has moved to [group undecypherable] a with regiments at Urfa, Orterek, Viran Chehir and Aintab.

French report general indications of an important movement of troops, material and irregular cavalry towards Eljezireh front.

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No. 15

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 13.)*

(No. 496.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, October 13, 1923.*

FOLLOWING from military attaché for War Office:

Greek and Turkish papers have commenced publication of what is claimed to be and has I fear every appearance of being genuine reproduction of General Harington's general despatch covering period of his command here. Nothing can be done to stop publication here nor can *démenti* regarding genuineness of document well be issued in the absence of proof to that effect.

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E 10148/9922/44 — No. 16.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 15.)*

(No. 505.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 1, 1923.*

AS I have reported in other despatches, the Turkish authorities have converted the Greek Patriarchate into a Turkish Orphanage, and have again seized the Galata Bridge Café, and have taken over the locks and safes from the representatives of Armstrong and Vickers and the Haidar Pasha Goods Quarter of the railway from the Anatolian Railway Company. Chauvinism is rampant, and its object is to terrify everyone. I should not be surprised if the next step was an attempt to take over the Administration of the Public Debt, which is the subject of much recent criticism in the press. The Treaty regime was imposed on Constantinople without any previous warning as from yesterday morning. The Turks are in fact determined to show to the world, and to prove to themselves that they no longer live in the days when Islam had to implore mercy from Christianity, and not Constantinople as for the Turks and not for the foreigners.

2. The Tanin published a few days ago a list of measures the application of which had hitherto been suspended, but which would now be enforced in Constantinople. Some of these, such as the deportation hitherto to the interior of all Turkish women who during the armistice period have had relations with foreigners, are likely to remain a dead letter. Others, such as the trial of persons for political offences committed during the same period are contrary to the Lausanne Treaty. It has again, such as the Treaty régime, has come into force since the publication by the Tanin.

3. The list of the rest number, some of which have already been partially applied, is illuminating. They are as follows:—

(1.) All notices and signs in a foreign language will be removed by the police.
(2.) Turkish is to be exclusively used for all advertisements, prospectus, programmes, bills of theatres, cinemas, &c.

3. The regulations respecting the flying of foreign flags by private persons and associations are to be rigorously enforced.

4. (a) All foreigners who have not yet obtained the "permis de séjour" are to be prosecuted.

(b) Non-Turkish employees of railway concessionary companies are to be dismissed and replaced by Turks. Companies which do not conform to this regulation will be severely dealt with.

5. (a) All newspapers which have been anti-Nationalist during the armistice period are to be suppressed.

(b) The regulations respecting the control of non-Moslem schools are to be rigorously enforced.

6. The Greeks of Constantinople will be subject to reprisals if the persecution of Moslems in Western Thrace is not stopped.

7. Immediate application generally to Constantinople of all regulations arising out of the new form of Government.

4. Although this is not the "Tanin" last Friday closing is another measure which is likely shortly to be put into full force by law. There are variations also and more drastic ones, of the Turkish language regulations. The Turks will probably exert themselves to assert a nationalist character for them and gain greater zeal or it is very important that the sense of proportion or correspondency should. Some of the new rules are those in force in other countries but become particularly irksome from excess. Others, as stringency and severity, are to be ultimately reversed. Reductions are to be introduced wherever applicable. All will afford a rich harvest of backsheesh for the hungry police and are consequently very popular with those whose opportunity it is to enforce them.

5. Undoubtedly the Nationalists everything will be elected but the habits of centuries will eventually reassert themselves, perhaps even too quickly and thoroughly for those who would like to see Turkey rapidly westernized. The gains will then be appreciated. For the present the less the Turkish warfare matters of considerable importance the sooner will be the final passing in which the zest for which comes from the fact that it has to be fought. At present the situation may be likened to a stage piece the work of which has just been dressed for the moment as first appearances, a little while it will subside and become flat.

I have &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON

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**E 10152 9922, 44]** **No. 47**

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received October 1)*

(No. 645)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October 1, 1923.*

A Turkish has elapsed since the departure from Constantinople of the Allied troops from Constantinople, but the glorious festivities of those who might have become disorderly on the occasion have so far fortunately not been realised. For the moment at any rate, the combustible has barely gone far beyond the stage of smoke.

2. On the other hand, however anticipatingly they may have refrained from the verbal protesting in respect of articles contrary to the prestige, the occupying forces, given to recognise the defeat has been the abolition of the Allied press censorship nearly a year ago, and on the whole unfettered, have served the Turkish newspapers on the 29th October greeted the day of liberation with a flood of vituperative and inadvertent articles directed against the departure of the Allied troops and especially the British during the period of occupation.

3. The Greek press also, constituting itself the only party to the Turkish line of bitterness of attack on the Allies. The Allied Police Commissioner was selected as the chief target on account of certain British officers were accused by some Greek journals of having connived at the escape of certain Greek political criminals whom they are professed to protect. The proprietors of these journals are obsessed in this matter to congratulate themselves with their new Turkish masters, but I doubt whether this servile observance much of what has recently been seen and heard in Constantinople is calculated to profit them much.



4. These attacks continued for two or three days, but having relieved itself of its bile, the attention of the press was soon diverted to another subject. The Anatolian army had at last commenced its march on Constantinople and all efforts were directed towards according it a befitting reception. Tenants of shops and private houses were ordered to have their premises beflagged and forced contributions were levied on shopkeepers for the decoration of the main streets. Triumphal arches were erected at frequent intervals, the Turkish star and crescent were everywhere in evidence, and tent poles, recently purchased from the British military authorities were employed for the purpose of supporting chains of greenery and flowers along the line of the procession.

5. The entry of the troops into the city has been described by Colonel Baird in the report enclosed in my despatch No. 645 of the 9th instant. In spite of the barricades of apprehension on the part of the Christian population, it passed off without incident. Even in the evening when accidents might have been expected to happen excepting where was mentioned again there were a certain number of cases of corpses which had to be forcibly removed. The French first Dragoman was exceptional in this respect. As however the majority of the male Christian population had either provided themselves with fezzes or preferred to remain peacefully at home, such incidents were of rare occurrence and the police behaved well. I am not aware of any British [illegible] having been molested.

6. The various organs of the local press naturally seized this opportunity to surpass one another in fulsome eulogy of the Turks. The event was universally hailed as the second Turkish conquest of Constantinople and its significance stated to be incomparably greater than the earlier one of 1453 in that it had been accomplished despite opposition far surpassing that with which Mahomed II had to deal. This, with the exception of Venizelos, the army, the fleet, the unity of the Sultan the Grand Vizier, the Cabinet, Mustafa Kemal and the police behaved well. I am not aware of any British [illegible] having been molested.

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[illegible] by the Peoples party As soon as this shall be effected it will be submitted to and discussed by the Grand National Assembly at its ordinary session The decision of the Assembly will be final [illegible] in the sense that Turkey's sovereign rights as an Independent State will be in force Mustafa Kemal will, as a matter of course, be proclaimed as first President of the Republic The remaining questions as to the attributions of the President of the Republic may be referred to Constantinople

6 The situation in the Smyrna hinterland has considerably improved, as is evident from the fact that both Bey, who were questioning regarding the continuance of martial law in the vilayets of Aidin and Smyrna, state that, as a result of the energetic measures taken and of the capture of Aziz Mustafa the leading rebel, the Government has been able to increase the state of siege in that district Nevertheless no engagements have been undertaken with the Government's Greek or Turkish troops

I have, &c
(For) H. G. ELLIOT

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E 10126 95/65] No. 8

*Despatch from Mr. Elliot to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received October 5)*

No. 2312
My Lord, *Pera, October 1, 1923.*

With reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 1218 of the 9th October, I have the honour to inform you that I instructed a member of my staff to make discreet inquiries at the Department of Foreign Affairs at the Quai d'Orsay relative to the construction of the Ottoman Nusaybin Railway

M. Margerie stated that the French group which had financed and let the Tripoli Agreement [illegible] work [illegible] Ismet Bey [illegible] was in favour of the Turkish Government's proposal that the section of the railway [illegible] should be constructed by the Turkish Government, which would then hand over the railway [illegible] to the French company as soon as the latter had completed the repairs which it undertook to carry out. The French Government would, however, insist that the French company should be given the option of working the railway [illegible] for a period of 99 years, as provided for in the Tripoli Agreement. M. Margerie pointed out that the Turkish Government would be unwise to refuse the option of working the railway to the French company, as the latter would be entitled to claim compensation for the loss of the option, which would be assessed by arbitrators.

M. Margerie stated that he was not in favour of the Baghdad Railway system being [illegible] by the French Government, but he thought that the working agreement between the Baghdad Railway Company and the Turkish Government might be [illegible] so as to give the French company a preponderating voice in the management of the whole of the Baghdad Railway. M. Margerie added that, in the event of Aleppo [illegible] being [illegible] it would be necessary to [illegible] the whole of the Baghdad Railway system. M. Margerie concluded that, in his opinion, the best way to settle the question of the Nusaybin Railway would be for the French company to undertake the repairs of the line [illegible] and then hand over the railway to the Turkish Government.

I have, &c.
(For) H. G. ELLIOT

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[E 10210 95 65] No. 9

*Acting Consul General Smart to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received October 11)*

(No. 132 Secret.)
My Lord, *Batoum, October 1, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a secret report received from the British Consul at Batoum regarding the Baghdad Railway.

I have the honour to enclose a copy for His Majesty's High Commissioner at Constantinople, as since the evacuation of Batoum Consular officers cease to be recognised by Constantinople.

I presume that, as the post to Turkey is very irregular, I am to address to you direct any communications which I may have to make in connection with the matter. I have therefore the honour to request that I may be sent copies of any confidential despatches to your Lordship's Consuls in Asiatic Turkey which may pass through London, for despatch to me by safe opportunity.

I have, &c.
(For) A. A. SMART.

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Enclosure in No. 9

*Report by British Consular Officer, Batoum, on the Baghdad Railway*

(Secret.)

THE most reliable reports which have been received concerning the Baghdad Railway are as follows:—

(a) That there is now working from Adana to Aleppo [illegible] from Adana to [illegible].

(b) That activity is being [illegible] at the Amanus Works, to the south of Islahie, in order to have the line repaired through [illegible] pass.

(c) That the section which had been [illegible] between Aleppo and Islahie, on the railway working worked by the French Company, has not been [illegible] since the last Syrian rebellion, but that the Turkish Government intends to have the railway repaired between Aleppo and Islahie, and that [illegible] between Islahie and Nusaybin, however, is still [illegible] before the section of the line is [illegible] can be established. The Amanus Tunnel [illegible] is [illegible] by the Railway Company, and Mr. Smart's informant believes that the [illegible] Amanus Tunnel will be [illegible] and the rest of the line [illegible] within the next few weeks.

(d) The above information [illegible] is confirmed by the Turkish Works Manager at Islahie, who would prefer [illegible] to repair the Hungarian railway bridge over the Euphrates at Birejik, which is expected to be [illegible] and [illegible] temporary wooden structures within four months of commencing work on the repairs, rather than to put up two new steel spans at Islahie, which, after the [illegible] would be [illegible] again. He also states that within a month of the bridge at Birejik being repaired he will have the line [illegible] as far east as Nisibin. The repairs to the permanent way east of Islahie station have, as a matter of fact, been [illegible] to Islahie.

(e) Complications with the repairs of the various bridges have, however, set in. According to the arrangements entered into with the Angora Government in 1921, Messrs. Rankin Boulton agreed that, although the Company should have the working of this railway, the [illegible] Turkish Government and Turkish staff. Consequently, when the Company's French draughtsmen [illegible] to prepare designs for the work on the bridges, the Turkish authorities refused to allow them to proceed [illegible] on the ground that, as the permanent way was [illegible] under Turkish territory, Turkish engineers must be employed [illegible] under Turkish law. Difficulties have also arisen regarding the

meddling of Franklin-Bouillon in Franco-Turkish affairs, and are suffering from still another of those pin-pricks rebuffs which the Turk nowadays seems to persist in heaping on the French.

It is hoped that a way out of the present impasse will soon be found.

I enclose herewith a copy of a photograph taken this year showing the present condition of the Jerablus bridge.*

D. McCALLUM, *Major*,
*British Liaison Officer.*

*French Troops of the Levant, Beyrout, Syria*
*September 27, 1923.*

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[E 10092/1482/44] No. 10

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to the Marquis della Torretta.*

Your Excellency, *Foreign Office, October 16, 1923.*

IN your note to me of July 5 you informed me that a British group comprising Messrs. Rothschild & Sons, Schroeders, Ltd., the National Provincial and Union Bank of England, the Westminster Bank, Limited, and Lloyds Bank (Limited) which has recently acquired the Bank of Zurich, holding in the Anatolian Railways, the Haidar Pasha and the Mesopotamian Railways, had offered to discuss with French and Italian groups participation in these important undertakings on the basis of 15½ per cent. each, while reserving 53½ per cent. to the British share. You Excellency added that the scheme contemplated by the Italian group conceded certain rights to German interests, and was unsatisfactory to the Italian Government as being contrary to the future status quo stipulated in the Lausanne Protocol and previous treaties and conventions regarding Anatolia.

2. Your letter has been carefully considered by His Majesty's Government who, while they regret that they are unable to accept the premises, consequently to agree to the request which is based on them, have

3. Firstly, as regards the rights said to have been conceded to German interests by the British group, I am glad to assure you that there must be some misapprehension, since I am assured by the latter that no important objects will result of their proposals as to the effective elimination of German control from the undertakings in question.

4. I am glad to agree with you that all treaty and other negotiations concerning Anatolia must have as their basis an accepted Allied equality of participation as a fundamental principle. Even the separate Agreement which, together with the Treaty of Sèvres and the Accord patriotique, is now under letter, I do not provide for equality of participation in the three Anatolian railways, the proposed company which was to exploit the Anatolian, Bagdad and Mersina-Adana Railways, but on the contrary allotted a definite proportion of shares to the British group in consideration of its pre-war holdings in the Bagdad Railway, the remainder being left to be subject to certain participation.

As regards the Italian negotiations, you are aware that it was never intended to secure under the treaty of Allied participation in the railways in Asia Minor formerly controlled by the Germans. Article 260 of the original draft which was sent to the Turkish Government in the Peace Treaty was based on the hypothesis that the Turkish Government would seek to obtain such railways, and consequently that Allied interests would be invited to participate only, as distinct from their ownership. But the article in question does not appear to have contemplated equal Allied participation in the existing company or does the treaty itself contain any provision as to the future participation of Allied capital in Turkish transport undertakings.

6. His Majesty's Government consider that they are under any obligation, contractual or moral, to urge the British group to assure to the Italian group equal participation in the interests in Anatolian undertakings which they have acquired on their own initiative. You will recall that in my note of the 12th March last on the subject of the Italian-French Agreement, I informed you that "it is the established practice of His Majesty's Government to allow British financial and industrial firms

* Not printed.



and groups complete freedom to make their own combinations and arrangements and to choose their own spheres of activity, and there appears to be no obligation of precedent to pursue a course that would require a departure from this practice."

7. I am, however, intimating to the British group that His Majesty's Government expect them to assure equitable participation in their enterprise to the Italian group, and I trust that the Italian group will be encouraged to open negotiations at an early date and that the negotiations will result in an arrangement satisfactory alike to the Italian group and to your Government.

I have, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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[P 1367/1/150] No. 91

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Peterson (Constantinople).*

(No. 559)

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 16, 1923.*

I HAVE received your despatch No. 600 of the 20th September last, relative to the arrangements for the reception and distribution of British official wireless messages at Constantinople.

2. It is satisfactory that there should be no hitch in the distribution of these messages for the time being, but it is conceivable that, in the interval before the final withdrawal of British forces from Turkish waters, the question should be examined as to whether it would be desirable to arrange for the establishment of a British wireless station on the Turkish mainland.

3. I understand that the Turkish Government would be willing to instal, maintain and work such a station, and that the Havas Agency would be prepared to receive messages from the British Government and to hand them over to the Reuters Agency, who would supply the British Government with news in return for the service rendered. This arrangement appears to avoid the possibility of British interception of Turkish wireless messages, to which objection could be overcome there would still remain two others, important but not insuperable, namely, the impossibility of securing the concurrence of the Treasury in the large expenditure which would be entailed, and the extreme difficulty of securing adequate control either of the staff or of the messages themselves.

4. It would seem that the supply of important British news to the Turkish press is desirable, attention must primarily be directed to the wireless service concerned in this Department and the problem resolves itself into securing effective distribution for these messages. I do not think there would be any difficulty of principle in authorising the suggestion to instal a receiving wireless station at the Embassy, but His Majesty's Government assume that precautions were provided by the Turkish authorities for preventing the possession and use by the Turkish Government of a receiving wireless station at the Embassy. Lord Curzon would not, I am sure, wish the consequences and the matter therefore requires careful consideration. I should be glad therefore if you would ascertain what would be the probable cost of instaling a wireless receiving set capable of receiving Reuters messages efficiently, further, what yearly engagement would be the maximum annual expenditure in connection with the employment of the two wireless operators necessary to the working of the apparatus.

5. There is one further suggestion which I should like to invite your opinion, namely that British commercial or financial organisations in Constantinople such as the Chamber of Commerce or the banks might themselves take over the considerable wireless news which the Turkish press arrange for the reception and distribution of the messages. I am aware that this course may easily prove to be impracticable, and even open to certain objections. It would however be useful if the views of prominent members of the British financial and commercial community in Constantinople could be ascertained both with regard to this suggestion and to the question of the value of British official wireless news in general.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[E 10146 7734 44 No 22

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr Henderson (Constantinople)*

(No 315)
(Telegraphic) *Foreign Office October 17 1923*

YOUR despatch No 637

We prefer that you should continue to be called Acting High Commissioner If this is impossible representative of His Majesty's Government would be better than description proposed Of course your diplomatic privileges must be preserved

If Turkish Government send Consular officers will be allowed to use ciphers and communicate direct with Foreign Office but cannot receive diplomatic privilege

Mustafa Reshid who used to be here had no official designation or position He enjoyed diplomatic rights only because he was granted certain diplomatic privileges We could do the same for any representative Turkish Government may now send

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[E 10276/7862 44] No 23

*M Crewe-Read (Constantinople) to Mr Rhes Adam (received October 18)*

My dear Foreign Agent *Paris, October 17 1923*

I REGRET that, owing to an oversight the enclosure was omitted from our despatch No 1378 of the 30th October regarding the Inter-Allied Treaty Reparation Convention Pursuant to this enclosure I forward

Waley has written to me that he is very anxious to obtain a copy of this draft convention for translation with a view to presentation to Parliament in due course so would you please, if you will, arrange to make this translation?

Yours ever
V C BENTINCK

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Enclosure in No 23

*M Poincaré to the Marquess of Crewe*

M l'Ambassadeur *Paris, le 11 octobre 1923*

J'AMBASSADEUR le Gouvernement britannique a fait connaître qu'il a reçu du Gouvernement hellénique un projet de convention relative à la réparation des dommages subis par les ressortissants alliés

J'ai l'honneur de faire savoir à Votre Excellence que le Gouvernement français, dont les intérêts sont en cette matière identiques à ceux de la Grande-Bretagne, a chargé son représentant à Athènes de se joindre à ses collègues britannique et italien pour appuyer auprès du Gouvernement hellénique la demande de signature immédiate de la convention

Veuillez agréer &c
R POINCARÉ

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Enclosure 2 in No 23

*Convention relative à la réparation des dommages subis en Turquie par des Alliés ressortissants des créances dues par la Grèce.*

L'EMPEREUR [illegible] Roi d'Italie et Sa Majesté le Roi des Serbes, Croates et Slovènes,

Désirant régler d'un commun accord les dommages subis par leurs ressortissants lors des événements survenus en Turquie depuis le Traité de Paix avec la Turquie signé à Lausanne le 24 juillet 1923

Ont résolu de conclure une convention à cette fin et ont nommé pour leurs plénipotentiaires savoir

Lesquels après avoir échangé leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, ont convenu des dispositions suivantes



ARTICLE 1er

Les Puissances contractantes conviennent d'affecter à concurrence de la réparation des dommages subis par leurs ressortissants

Les sommes en or visées à l'article [illegible] du Traité de Lausanne
2 Les Bons du Trésor [illegible] du montant total de 846,[illegible] livres sterling, que le Gouvernement hellénique s'est engagé à émettre en vue de la réparation susdits dommages

Ce fonds sera [illegible] pour [illegible] à l'article 2 de la présente convention

ARTICLE 2

Les réclamations concernant l'évaluation des dommages subis [illegible] après la mise en vigueur de la présente convention seront présentées par les Gouvernements intéressés à la Commission mixte de conciliation prévue à l'article 3 ci-après

ARTICLE 3

Cette commission sera composée de trois membres désignés respectivement par les Gouvernements de France, de Grande-Bretagne et d'Italie Dans le cas où le Gouvernement intéressé n'aurait pas désigné son représentant dans le délai de [illegible] mois à compter de la mise en vigueur de la présente convention, il sera procédé à cette désignation par le Conseil de la Société des Nations

ARTICLE 4

La Commission a pour mission d'examiner les réclamations et d'en fixer le montant des dommages

La procédure sera [illegible] par les représentants de la France, de la Grande-Bretagne, de l'Italie

Les décisions seront prises à la majorité des voix
Les frais de la Commission seront supportés [illegible]
Le budget de la Commission et de son personnel sera soumis à l'approbation des Gouvernements de France, de Grande-Bretagne et d'Italie
Les dépenses de la Commission seront prélevées sur les fonds de réparation

ARTICLE 5

Les décisions de la Commission seront définitives et sans appel et engageront [illegible] à dater de la mise en vigueur de la présente convention

ARTICLE 6

Les réclamations [illegible] devront être soumises à la Commission dans les délais ci-après

(a) Les demandes [illegible] pour les dommages [illegible] devront être présentées dans le délai de [illegible] mois à compter de la mise en vigueur de la présente convention
(b) Les réclamations concernant les dommages subis [illegible] devront être présentées dans le délai de [illegible] mois à compter de la date à laquelle [illegible] aura été mis à même de prendre connaissance des faits donnant lieu à réclamation

(c) Les réclamations concernant les dommages subis [illegible] devront être présentées dans le délai de [illegible] mois à compter de la date à laquelle [illegible] aura été mis à même de prendre connaissance des faits donnant lieu à réclamation

[11463] b

c Les dommages visés aux 1° et 4° qui n'ont été subis par les protégés des Gouvernements signataires font à égalité de protection ressortir à une catégorie spéciale.

c Les dommages visés aux 1° et 4° qui ont été subis sur les territoires cédés ou à céder en vertu du présent Traité et Lausanne par les sociétés ottomanes et dans lesquels les ressortissants des Puissances signataires avaient un intérêt prépondérant le 1er août 1914

2 La commission tiendra compte des avantages économiques accordés à ces sociétés par le Gouvernement turc en raison des dommages subis par elles La valeur desdits avantages le remboursement en espèces et sera déduit du montant revenant aux sociétés conformément à l'espèce de conversion Dans aucun cas la totalité des indemnités à payer à ces sociétés ne pourra excéder la valeur nominale des bons du Trésor visés au paragraphe 2 de l'article 61

Sera alors établie la répartition de la somme ainsi obtenue entre les

(a Les dommages directs, y compris la privation de jouissance et le manque à gagner

(b Les réclamations relatives aux sommes à payer par le Gouvernement turc en vertu de la convention relative à l'échange des populations grecques et turques et la convention du 24 juillet 1923 réglant le remboursement des biens restés et abandonnés en Turquie

(c Les réclamations des sociétés ou associations à raison de la nationalisation par le Gouvernement turc de la propriété ou des services qui devront être réglés par le Gouvernement turc en vertu du protocole relatif à certaines concessions accordées dans l'Empire ottoman du 24 juillet 1923 et à la déclaration y annexée ou en vertu des arrangements intervenus entre le Gouvernement turc et ces sociétés.

ARTICLE 7

La commission centrale répartira les sommes attribuées à chaque intéressé proportionnellement à l'importance des dommages subis par eux Les décisions prises par la commission seront définitives sans recours à l'encontre desquelles les différents gouvernements intéressés ou leurs ressortissants ne pourront faire valoir aucune réclamation.

ARTICLE 8

La présente convention sera ratifiée.

Les ratifications en seront déposées à Paris en même temps que celles du traité de Lausanne.

Elle entrera en vigueur pour chaque Puissance signataire en même temps que le Traité de Paix

En foi de quoi les plénipotentiaires susnommés ont signé la présente convention

Fait à Paris en un seul exemplaire, qui restera déposé dans les archives du Gouvernement de la République française qui en délivrera des expéditions authentiques à chacune des Puissances signataires.

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**E 10368 199/44]** No. 4

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 22)*

(No. 65)

My Lord *Constantinople, October 7, 1923.*

THE outstanding event of the past week has been the acceptance by the Grand National Assembly of a motion submitted by Ismet Pasha for the insertion in the Constitution of a Charter of a special clause fixing Angora as the seat of the Government of the new Turkey. Much long and fully discussed in the Assembly and party meetings the draft has now been duly submitted to the Assembly in the 13 articles of which it consists and has been passed by a majority of 158 votes to 30. The opposition was directed against the whole scheme which was regarded as a retrograde step. It is stated that was therefore brought forward as a special accusation, and the opposition was based upon abstention from voting. In the event of a large majority it is now proposed to bring forward a motion to the effect that the Assembly, while accepting the suggestion of the Deputies who originally opposed the



removal of the capital to Constantinople as reported in the press as having been the object that at heart every one was in favour of Constantinople, but that they had to conform to the decision taken at the secret party meeting.

2. The Assembly's decision was greeted with scenes of great enthusiasm in the new capital. That evening a torchlight procession took place. In honour of the occasion the 15th October has been created a public holiday and is to be known as "Angora Day." In Constantinople on the other hand, the decision is regarded as final since the Constitution Charter is a law which must be submitted to and accepted by the Assembly.

3. Although gradually growing old Ismet Pasha appears to be in good health and still walks with a soldierly erectness. Refet Bey, notwithstanding so much has been said and written against him, remains a mystery to the writer. Constantinople from Smyrna, where at present the guest of Ismet Pasha. Both are stated to be closely watched by Government agents. Nevertheless Ismet is reported to be about to proceed to Angora shortly. Refet has been recalled by the Angora authorities. He has abstained from making any public declaration, and it is believed that no announcement as to the future will be made.

4. Rumours continue to be heard of a split between Mustafa Kemal and the remainder of the Committee of Union and Progress, which, it is supposed to be closely linked with Moslem interests, aroused to connection by an article published in the Angora newspaper "Yeni Gun" from the pen of Yunus Nadi. Yesterday it was stated that a difference exists between the Committee of Union and Progress and the Popular party and that Mustafa Kemal is the greatest stumbling block. If the rumours of a split should materialise, which was strongly denied by a Turkish Deputy, as soon as I arrived at this capital, it would be difficult to say which party would be the stronger. Both parties as a whole are strongly anti-Christian and anti-European, and would be equally opposed to any concession to the Christian minorities. The question of the Caliphate is also a matter which is likely to arouse strong feeling. Both parties as a whole are strongly anti-Christian and anti-European, and would be equally opposed to any concession to the Christian minorities. The question of the Caliphate is also a matter which is likely to arouse strong feeling. Both parties as a whole are strongly anti-Christian and anti-European, and would be equally opposed to any concession to the Christian minorities. The question of the Caliphate is also a matter which is likely to arouse strong feeling.

5. Meanwhile the question of the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne by both Greece and Turkey remains in abeyance. It is reported that the Greek Government has decided to ratify the treaty as soon as the Turkish Government has done so. It is also reported that the Turkish Government has decided to ratify the treaty as soon as the Greek Government has done so. It is also reported that the Turkish Government has decided to ratify the treaty as soon as the Greek Government has done so.

6. [illegible] the Greek Government has decided to ratify the treaty as soon as the Turkish Government has done so. It is also reported that the Turkish Government has decided to ratify the treaty as soon as the Greek Government has done so.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON,
*Acting High Commissioner.*

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**E 10370 199/44]** No. 5

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received October 22)*

(No. 67)

My Lord *Constantinople, October 15, 1923.*

THE British Government has been informed by the Turkish Government that the Turkish Government has been informed by the Turkish Government that the Turkish Government has been informed by the Turkish Government that the Turkish

nation. On the other hand the time had now come for the Grand National Assembly to declare as the seat of the Administration of the Turkish State. Reasons resulting from the clauses in the Treaty of Peace relating to the Straits and based on past experience necessitated the establishment of Turkey's administrative centre in Anatolia and in the town of Angora.

2. Zeki Bey, deputy of Gumush-khaneh, who urged the superiority of Constantinople to be the capital, stated that the choice of Ismid, Adana, Konia or Angora as capital of the Turkish Free State. After the armistice Constantinople was unable to save Anatolia. It was therefore separated from Constantinople to the eastern portions of the country which greatly resulted in Angora becoming the capital. He reminded the Assembly of Mr. Lloyd George's statement in the House of Commons at the end of 1918 to the effect that Turkish capital under the auspices of His Majesty's Government which is later than a Government which came with Enver to the Taurus Mountains. This statement was brought to John Kurino's memory at the time of the Treaty of Sevres, for the time the capital was in Constantinople. The situation of Constantinople from military point of view existed before the capture of the Turkish Free State. It was in the interest of the Nationalist Government that they should get away from Angora. They must resist attack on the part of Angora in order to establish a perfect welfare of Anatolia. Ela Nur Bey on the part of the Constantinople as to the thought was given to Arabia and since the construction of railways of the three regions

[E 10549 21, 44] No. 39

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received October 21*)

(No. 670)
My Lord, *Constantia ple October 13, 1923*

PRESS telegrams from Angora state that the Turkish Grand National Assembly have rejected the Law which Ismet Pasha, Minister of Labour, Works and Economy, introduced in the course of a statement regarding the employment of foreign engineers and employés of foreign companies operating in Turkey.

According to the arrangements concluded with foreign companies, the Chief engineers and foreign employés only have the right to be employed, and this does not mean that they can be employed, as subjects of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, but permanently. They must be employed by Moslem Turkish subjects only. If the foreign companies do not shortly dismiss all their Greek, Armenian and Jewish servants, they will be compelled to "enforce the privileges which they are not authorised to function in Turkey. This decision is irrevocable."

2. Persistent pressure has for some time past been brought to bear on foreign companies and institutions established in Turkey to effect, as the declaration relates, of course, not only Turkish nationals, but employés of all nationalities. Since its publication I have not had any opportunity of speaking to Ismet Pasha, but I propose to do so at the first suitable occasion which may offer for ascertaining from him whether his statement will be interpreted in accordance with the letter or the spirit of the Lausanne Treaty.

Meanwhile, when I wrote last I thought that the attention of Your Government should have been drawn to the fact that certain articles of the Treaty of Lausanne, which Turkey has undertaken to respect, were further infringed by the Turkish Government in connection with the Law regarding the Treasury of Mosques. Greece, Great Britain, Egypt and other countries are apparently being compelled to pay, under protest, large sums for the upkeep of Turkish mosques in their territories, while the Turkish Government refuses to contribute to the upkeep of Christian churches, whereas Moslems in Greece, Great Britain, Egypt and other countries are apparently being compelled to pay, under protest, large sums for the upkeep of Turkish mosques in their territories, while the Turkish Government refuses to contribute to the upkeep of Christian churches, whereas Moslems in Turkey have left Turkey without receiving their fresh passports. The Turkish Government refuses to exchange foreign currency for Turkish currency, and has already enforced operations of this character on the American Near East Relief Workers, and has suspended the export of Mr. Ransom-Kerr's motor-car, which he was compelled to leave behind. I have also received complaints from Greek subjects in Constantinople that they have been expelled from Turkey, and that their property has been confiscated, and that they have been compelled to leave Turkey without receiving any compensation whatsoever. Similar complaints have been received from Greek subjects in Egypt, and I understand that the Egyptian Government have taken steps to protect the interests of Greek subjects in Egypt. I am informed that the Turkish authorities will not allow the Greek Patriarch to leave Turkey, and that the Greek population of Constantinople, which numbered 300,000 before the war, has been reduced to 100,000, and that the Greek population of Smyrna, which numbered 300,000 before the war, has been reduced to 100,000, and that the Greek population of Adrianople, which numbered 100,000 before the war, has been reduced to 50,000, and that the Greek population of Brusa, which numbered 100,000 before the war, has been reduced to 50,000, and that the Greek population of Ismid, which numbered 100,000 before the war, has been reduced to 50,000, and that the Greek population of Kutahia, which numbered 100,000 before the war, has been reduced to 50,000, and that the Greek population of Afium Karahissar, which numbered 100,000 before the war, has been reduced to 50,000, and that the Greek population of Konia, which numbered 100,000 before the war, has been reduced to 50,000, and that the Greek population of Aidin, which numbered 100,000 before the war, has been reduced to 50,000, and that the Greek population of Smyrna, which numbered 300,000 before the war, has been reduced to 100,000, and that the Greek population of Constantinople, which numbered 300,000 before the war, has been reduced to 100,000.

I have &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON

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[E 10553 1019 65] No. 3.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received October 29*)

(No. 68)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 3, 1923*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to Your Lordship herewith copy of the further note which I received from Ismet Pasha on the 1st instant, and of my reply to Dr. Adnan Bey with regard to the negotiations for the settlement of the frontier between Turkey and Irak.

2. As you will observe, His Majesty's Government will regard these negotiations as having been in progress from the 1st October, the date of my previous letter to Adnan Bey. I should be grateful if I might be informed at the first opportunity somewhat earlier than

3 I think [illegible] of the attached sheet of any [illegible] might [illegible] that [illegible] of [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] most [illegible]

Lords [illegible] Commons, the Noble [illegible] that [illegible] but [illegible] Japanese [illegible] Affairs [illegible] of [illegible] to Japan

[illegible] as [illegible] that [illegible] Government [illegible]

I have &c.
NEVILLE HENDERSON

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E 10557 109 44 No. 34

*[illegible] to Mr. [illegible]*

Mr. [illegible]

I [illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] Mr. [illegible] of the [illegible] of the [illegible] of the

No. 34

*H. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received October 29.*)

(No. 703.)

(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, October 28, 1923.*

MY telegram No. 701.

Resignation of entire Cabinet is confirmed. Election of new Ministers is fixed for 29th October.

Ismet and Fethi Pashas seem most probable candidates for Presidency of the Council.

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No. 35

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received October 30.*)

(No. 506.)

(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, October 29, 1923.*

MY telegram No. 504.

I telegraphed that Government crisis at Angora will be settled by proclamation of republic and election of Kemal as President with the right to select his own Prime Minister.

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No. 36

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received October 30.*)

(No. 507.)

(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, October 30, 1923.*

MY telegram No. 506.

Grand National Assembly at Angora last night Ministers, Kemal President and Republican Government were elected by 158 Deputies present.

Messages of congratulation from Ismet Pasha Prime Minister.

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No. 37

*Mr. Henderson (Constantinople) to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received October 31.*)

No. 508.

Telegraphic. R. *Constantinople, October 31, 1923.*

MY telegram No. 507.

I have seen Rolleau, who tells me that proclamation of republic by Assembly and election of Mustafa Kemal as President

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No. 38.

*Mr. Henderson (Constantinople) to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received October 31, 1923.*)

No. 510.

(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, October 31, 1923.*

MY telegram No. 507.

Ismet selected to form Cabinet to-day. Only new appointments are Foreign Affairs, Mustafa Bey, who replaces Fethi, and Riza Nour Bey, as Ministers of Interior, Health and Public Works.

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[E 10556/8496/44] No. 39

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Henderson (Constantinople).*

(No. 7.)

*Foreign Office, November 1, 1923.*

SIR,

I HAVE received your despatch No. 8 of the 23rd June relative to the proposed exchange of notes for dealing with various matters arising out of the Lausanne Treaty and agreements concluded between the Allied Powers and Turkey.

2. You should, however, take an early opportunity to explain personally to Ahmed Bey that the proposal of His Majesty's Government had a political rather than a merely legal significance, the object of the exchange of notes being to put on record in a formal manner the attempt to the settlement of outstanding questions with the object of avoiding, as far as possible, the necessity of future representations at the Government to Government with regard to matters of the Turkish Government for the purpose of discussion and agreement, as provided in the Treaty and subsidiary instruments.

I am, &c.,
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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[A 6178/1252/95] No. 40

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to the Marquess of Crewe (No. 317). Paris (No. 1048), Rome, Sofia (No. 1), Tokio and Sofia, Nos. 1135, Brussels and Constantinople.*

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, November 2, 1923.*

SINCE peace between Turkey and Greece was concluded by the signature of the Treaty of Lausanne His Majesty's Government have been in regular diplomatic communication with the Turkish Government for the purpose of obtaining concessions from the Turkish Government for the protection of the Christian minorities of the Empire.

2. As your Lordship is aware, the whole of Turkey, except Constantinople and the territory within the Straits zone as defined in Article 6 of the Armistice of the 30th October, 1918, was occupied by the armies of the Allied Powers, and Turkish troops were disarmed. Subsequently, Smyrna and Adrianople and other districts from which the Armies of the Allied Powers were withdrawn were occupied by Turkish troops. Under the existing circumstances, it is necessary to prohibit Turkish warships from entering the Straits, and to prohibit foreign warships from passing through the Straits, except in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of Lausanne. His Majesty's Government are of opinion that the Straits should be demilitarised, and they are prepared to agree to the Straits being open to the warships of all nations in time of peace and of war, except when Turkey is herself at war, or when she considers herself threatened with war, provided that Turkey is entitled to close the Straits to warships of any Power which is at war with Turkey.

3. I am glad to take note of the Government's willingness to accept this proposal, and to give effect to it. We are anxious to avoid any friction in the Straits, and we trust that they will continue to observe the spirit of the Convention of Lausanne in the future as they have done in the past.

4. The United States Government have recently declined to enter into an agreement of the kind, on the ground that it is the policy of that Government to discourage the export of arms and war material to countries where disturbances prevail. I am instructing His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington to make representations to the United States Government. A copy of my despatch to Mr. Wilson on the subject will be forwarded to you together with a copy of his despatch No. 1,057 of the 28th September last.

5. In addressing similar representations to His Majesty's representatives at Rome, Tokio, Sofia and Brussels.

I am, &c.,
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

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* See No. 1.

† See No. 2.

E 10729 199 44 No 41

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received November 3)*

No 502)

Telegraphic R *Constantinople November 3 1923*

My despatch No 501 paragraph 9

I have confined myself to sending a cold congratulatory note to Turkish Government announcing election of Mustafa Kemal as President of the Republic

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E 10757 199 44] No 42

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston — (Received November)*

No [illegible]

Mr L *(Constantinople October 30 1923)*

I [illegible] the [illegible] yesterday [illegible] at Vgerali [illegible] great [illegible] to congratulate [illegible] of the Republic, remarked [illegible] Grand Vizier [illegible] this [illegible] to [illegible] Ismet [illegible] Pasha [illegible] Ismet [illegible] Pasha [illegible] Ismet [illegible] Pasha

parmi les membres de la grande Assemblée nationale par le Président de la République qui choisit les autres Ministres également parmi les membres de la même Assemblée. Le Conseil des Ministres ainsi constitué est présenté par le Président de la République à l'approbation de l'Assemblée. Cette approbation n'est acquise à la majorité de l'Assemblée nationale que lorsque celle-ci n'est pas en session.

" Son Excellence Ghazi Moustafa Kemal Pacha a été élu à la même séance à l'unanimité de Président de la République.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) DR. ADNAN.

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[E 10758/10145/44] No. 43

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received November 5.)*

(No. 707.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 31, 1923.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 693 of the 24th instant, I have the honour to report that the local Turkish paper Aksham published on the 26th instant a short statement to the effect that the Red Crescent Commission formed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha to collect subscriptions on behalf of the Greek Massacres, which is to be extended for Turkish Christians, has begun to send telegrams to all Missionaries.

2. I think it right, however, only to call your Lordship's attention to the fact that the Red Crescent Society, which is practically a "company limited" which is despatched to Eastern and Asiatic provinces of non-Moslem countries, such as Morocco, Tripoli, Egypt, Turkestan, Persia and Afghanistan, will have to operate through the Local Red Crescent or Red Cross Societies. The co-operation of the International Red Cross Society will also be invited.

3. The statement is that the permission of the Governments of the countries to be visited will be obtained beforehand, and that the Turkish Government has been asked to take the necessary action to this end.

4. One of the members of the Red Crescent Commission in question is Dr. Adnan Bey.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NEVILE HENDERSON.

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[E 10760/199/34] No. 44

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.—(Received November 5.)*

(No. 708.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 31, 1923.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 703 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that by virtue of the powers conferred on him by the revised Constitution, Mustafa Kemal Pasha entrusted Ismet Pasha with the task of forming a Ministry. The new Cabinet was completed yesterday morning, and the list of Ministers, accompanied by a letter from the President of the Republic, submitted to the approval of the Assembly. This was accorded by the unanimous vote of the 166 deputies present.

2. Ismet Pasha's Cabinet is constituted as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| President and Minister for Foreign Affairs | Ismet Pasha. |
| Religious Affairs | Moustafa Fevzi Effendi. |
| Chief of General Staff | Fevzi Pasha. |
| Interior | Feridun Bey. |
| National Defence | Kazim Pasha. |
| National Economy | Hassan Bey. |
| Justice | Seyyid Bey. |
| Public Instruction | Ismail Sefa Bey. |
| Public Works | Mazhar Bey. |
| Public Health | Refik Bey. |
| Exchange and Reconstruction | Nejati Bey. |

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12. The proclamation of the republic has, I understand, been greeted with the firing of salutes and with the usual signs of jubilation, but it is too early yet to estimate the effect of this event on the internal situation. The opposition of which it will give rise Rauf Bey, as the central figure of the opposition, ought to be overcome. He himself associated with the Affris and their supporters, who are at present at Angora. In this connection, I may mention that I have been informed by a reliable source that on the 27th instant Rauf Bey had a long interview with Marshal Izzet Pasha, the former Grand Vizier, and Fuad Bey, Deputy for Constantinople. After interesting allegations to this effect had been made, it was decided that proceedings against the latter should be suspended for the present.

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Enclosure 1 in No. 42.

*Journal de la Constantinople, October 30, 1923.*

LES NOUVEAUX DÉPUTÉS D'ANGORA.

ALORS que la Sainte Grande Assemblée nationale a manifesté la volonté formelle du peuple souverain de la République de gérer par le peuple et ses représentants la vie de l'État républicain,

Attendu que le [illegible] mais aussi, d'après ce qui est prévu,

Vu l'article [illegible] de la Constitution de l'Assemblée nationale, [illegible] membres de cette Assemblée sont choisis parmi les députés, l'Exécutif

Article [illegible] Le Président de la République est élu par l'Assemblée législative [illegible] de l'Assemblée nationale, lorsque celle-ci n'est pas en session [illegible] du Conseil des Ministres est présenté par le Président de la République à l'approbation de l'Assemblée nationale, laquelle [illegible] recouvertes.

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Enclosure 2 in No. 42.

*Adnan Bey to Mr. Henderson.*

Mon Représentant, *Constantinople, October 1923.*

D'ordre de mon Gouvernement, j'ai l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de votre Excellence que la Grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie, dans sa séance du [illegible] du 29 Octobre 1923, a élu à l'unanimité des voix [illegible]

" La forme du Gouvernement de la République turque est [illegible] Le Président de la République, qui est le chef de l'État, est élu par la Grande Assemblée nationale parmi ses membres par le parti pour lequel ses membres de l'Assemblée sont élus, et en cette qualité, il préside le Conseil quand il juge nécessaire, l'Assemblée et son Conseil des Ministres. Le Premier Ministre est choisi

3 Though primarily of military concern, they may perhaps have some bearing on the development of the political situation in Turkey, where the support of the army counts for much in a political crisis Unfortunately it is too early to say how far the solution of the questions involved has given satisfaction or otherwise

I have, &c.

A W F BAIRD, *Colonel.*
*Military Attaché*

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Enclosure 2 in No 45

*Reduction of the Turkish Army to Peace Establishment and Questions cognate thereto*

THE conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne enabled the Turkish Government to proceed at once with the reduction of their army to a peace establishment Both on political and financial grounds it had already become eminently desirable to do so without delay A partial demobilisation had indeed already been carried out, but the outbreaks of brigandage in Anatolia, the situation on the Syrian Mosul and eastern fronts, and generally the possibility of a breakdown of the peace negotiations at the eleventh hour had made it necessary to go slow

This did not so far as the rank and file were concerned had no embarrassing aspects from a political point of view On the contrary it carried with it an immediate decrease in the strength of the personnel under the return to their homes of men who were already forced of service and who desired, or at least expected no other reward at the hands of a grateful country But the question of the commissioned ranks immediately gave rise to difficulties A larger number of officers had to be disposed of to the bulk of whom military service was their bread and butter nor were they willing to be satisfied in the case of the rank and file by the mere reinstatement that they could now go home

The questions to be dealt with as far as the officers were concerned were roughly as follows —

(A) Treatment of demobilised reserve officers
(B) System to be adopted for the reduction of effectives of active list who would become surplus to establishment on a peace footing—and to regulate particularly the period and amount of such officers
(C) Scale of pay and allowances for officers to be retained on the peace establishment

Each of these questions appears to have been dealt with by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and settled in the following lines

(A) *Treatment of Demobilised Officers*

1 Gratuity of five months pay in addition to the leave to be granted to all reserve officers who have served in the Nationalist army up to the end of the Battle of Sakaria (September 1921)
2 Gratuity of three months pay to reserve officers who have served in the Nationalist army since the end of the Battle of Sakaria

In both cases a claim for employment in the first instance by preference being given to their own petitions for state employment

The above provisions are said to affect some 8,000 reserve officers who belong to the class concerned and who have already taken the precaution to form themselves into a special association ("Iktiat Zamitat Gemieti") with the object of protecting their interests To what extent this Association is satisfied with the Government's decisions is not yet known

(B) *System to be adopted for the Reduction of Officers to Peace Establishment*

The present uncertainty as to the eventual form which the peace establishment of the Turkish army will take added to the complications in this case, but it was obvious that considerable reductions would be entailed According to laws passed on the 21st September and the 6th October the following system is to be adopted —

(1) All active list officers who served in the Nationalist army during the War of Independence (1921-23) will remain on the active list on full pay and allowances until the close of the present financial year, whether they be



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[E 10761/10120/44] No 45

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received November 5)*

(No 707)

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to transmit herewith, in pursuance of No 3 for His Majesty's military attaché at Constantinople dated the 31st October 1923 respecting the reduction of the Turkish army to peace establishment

*Constantinople October 31 1923*

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Enclosure 1 in No 45

*Colonel Baird to Mr Henderson*

(No 3)

*British High Commission*
Sir *Constantinople October 31 1923*

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith a note dealing with the reduction of the Turkish army to peace establishment and questions ancillary thereto

2 These questions have recently formed the theme of considerable discussion in the Turkish press and the reports before me, from which heated debates in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey

actively employed or not Steps will be taken before the close of the financial year (30th March, to provide a definite solution of the cases of officers thus retained on the active list But unemployed owing to the reduction of establishment

(*b*) Officers on the active list who did not serve in the Nationalist army and fail to justify their failure to do so will be struck off the establishment and forfeit all pay and pension

Officers of the same category who can justify their failure to serve will be put on the unemployed list, or if already entitled to a pension will be retired

Those placed on the unemployed list will be treated as those under (*a*) above

(*c*) Officers who actively opposed the Nationalist movement will be tried by court martial The court martial will appraise the amount of their activities Those found guilty will be struck off the establishment and, besides forfeiting all pension, will be permanently debarred from State employment in any capacity

(*c*) *Scale of Pay and Allowances for Officers*

The Government appears to have been forced to deal with this question for two reasons In the first place, it was realised that the existing rates of pay and allowances were really insufficient to meet present day requirements In the second place, it was potentially indispensable to conciliate the army as represented by its officers

Two solutions appear to have been discussed :-

(*a*) Amelioration of officers' situations by a more liberal issue in kind of rations clothing equipment &c

(*b*) A simple increase of pay and allowances

The commission appointed to deal with this question decided on (*b*) above, with it is said the warm support of Mustafa Kemal who appears to have taken some personal part in the discussions

A law embodying the commission's recommendations as to a new rate of pay and allowances was duly presented to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey for approval Here it gave rise to a stormy debate in which Mustafa Kemal was obliged to intervene, and possibly conveniently enough no doubt as the army's champion, silenced the opposition

The new rates of pay and allowances details of which are given below are said to involve an addition of £T 5 000,000 to the military budget

Naval officers are to benefit by the new rates

Pensioned officers are also to receive an increase in their allowances but the details of these are not yet fixed

NEW RATES OF PAY AND ALLOWANCES FOR ARMY OFFICERS

| | Monthly Pay £T | Monthly Allowance £T |
|---|---|---|
| Warrant officer | 8 | 42 |
| Second lieutenant | 10 | 50 |
| Lieutenant | 15 | 55 |
| Captain | 20 | 60 |
| Senior captain | 25 | 65 |
| Major | 35 | 85 |
| Lieutenant colonel | 40 | 90 |
| Colonel | 50 | 100 |
| Brigadier general | 60 | 140 |
| Divisional general | 80 | 170 |
| Senior divisional general | 100 | 200 |
| Field marshal | 150 | 200 |

*Note* The combined remuneration at present rates of exchange ranges approximately from 7*l* 10*s* per month in the case of a second lieutenant to 40*l* per month in the case of a field marshal



[E 10795 1019 65] No 46

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 6*)

(No 513)
(Telegraphic) R *Constantinople, November 6, 1923*

MY despatch No 681 of 23rd October

Adnan Bey yesterday presented note stating that Turkish Government assents that negotiations should take place at Constantinople where representatives of both parties would be on an equal footing as regards correspondence with their Governments

He added in conversation that Turkish Government would prefer that negotiations should not be opened until after ratification of treaty by Great Britain

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[E 10802 7734 44] No 47

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 7*)

(No 514)
(Telegraphic) R *Constantinople, November 6, 1923*

YOUR telegram No 315

Under instructions from President of the Council Adnan Bey informs me that Turkish Government proposes forthwith to appoint Yussuf Kemal Bey former Minister for Foreign Affairs as its representative in London and to nominate him definitely to post as soon as Treaty of Lausanne comes into force

Turkish Government would be glad to learn as soon as possible whether this appointment meets with approval

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[E 10807 199 44] No 48

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 7*)

(No 515 Secret)
(Telegraphic) *Constantinople November 6 1923*

I AM informed that on instructions from Angora Adnan Bey visited Caliph today and invited His Majesty to proceed forthwith either to Brussa or Konia Caliph is said to have refused stating that he preferred to abdicate

In view of reactions with Chief of Refet Rechid and the leaders of Opposition has been much commented upon lately and there have been rumours in the press that some step of this nature was contemplated I had already written despatch for bag tomorrow anticipating some such move on the part of Kemal with a view to stifling possibility of reactionary movement in Constantinople

Information may therefore be correct It is also reported in press that Refet and Rechid have been recalled to Angora to attend to their duties as Deputies Signs are in fact not wanting that Kemal attends to crush Opposition by forcible measures, and I do not think that Opposition are ever to be effective resistance

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[E 10819 7734 44] No 49

*Mr C Phipps to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 7*)

(No 198)
(Telegraphic) D *Tokyo, November 7, 1923*

YOUR telegram No 113

Japanese Government share views of His Majesty's Government and agree that it would be preferable to await ratification from Turkish Government of selection of Angora as capital before informing them of those views

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[E 11861/7734 44] No 50

*Mr Chetwynd to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 9*)

No 1501
Telegraphic D Washington November 8 1923

YOUR telegram No 1008

United States Government inform me that upon resumption of diplomatic relations with Turkey they would not be opposed to sending an Ambassador to Constantinople on the understanding that appropriate facilities would be accorded by Turkish Government

While appointment of Ambassador to reside at Angora is not contemplated at present United States Government would not be expected to reexamine question if it was certain Turkey definitely chose upon Angora as capital Meanwhile United States Government are of the opinion that existing arrangements should be left undisturbed

(Private)

View of State Department is that if even if Turkey should decide on Angora as their capital they will in a few years find it quite unbearable and revert to Constantinople United States Government will also be in conformity with other Powers recognition of Government established in Turkey

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E 10923 199 44 No 51

*Mr Henderson to Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 12*)

(No 71)
My Lord Constantinople November 1 1923

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a translation of a leading article which appeared in the issue of the Vakit of October 31 last, the principal Nationalist organ in Angora, and to call your attention to the declaration recently given by Riaad Bey to the Press with regard to the withdrawal of the decision taken by the Great National Assembly that the seat of the Government should be at Angora

2 In the early days after the proclamation of the Republic Mustafa Kemal and his colleagues were at pains to emphasise that the new régime was not to be in any way hostile to the Caliphate, and that the undertaking not to interfere in the affairs of the Caliphate given at Mudania would be scrupulously observed Recently, however, the Nationalist Press has been full of open threats against the Caliph and his entourage, and the article now transmitted is the most violent attack on the Caliphate which has appeared since the removal of the Caliph from Constantinople

3 It was to the effect that there were persistent rumours at the Sublime Porte yesterday that the Caliph intended to abdicate and to retire to Brusa, but that careful enquiries at the Porte had elicited a reply from official sources that they had no knowledge on the subject and at the Palace that the report was untrue

4 Incidentally the use of the expression of Sublime Porte is curious Such terms which savour rather of the Ottoman régime have fallen into disuse since the removal of Turkey's capital But this unexpected resuscitation of the old nomenclature is strange still, and in view of the newspaper by which it was published one may well ask whether it has not some sinister motive, as a *ballon d'essai* to prepare the way for a return of Sultan Vahideddin, or at least a royalty favourable to the Brusa

5 In this connection I heard some weeks ago through two different channels, though they may well have had the same source, that the Nationalist Government *did not* thought they would ever succeed in removing the seat of the Caliphate from Constantinople to Mustafa Kemal's native town Brusa The reason given was that Kemal's position would be different if the Caliph was living in the same city as himself, and it was believed that the Grand Vizier was one of the growing party in the Capital, at present in control, who had grasped the fact that the existence of the Caliphate in Constantinople is incompatible with the establishment of a Turkish Government at Angora and was seriously considering the measures to be taken to counteract any possible activity of the Caliph in this direction

6 The present attack on the Caliphate is apparently not the result of any recent agitation against the Caliph on the part of Kemal and his colleagues, but is a direct attack on the Caliphate as an institution, and is published by the 'Vakit' the extreme Nationalist organ in Angora, and is apparently inspired by the declaration recently given by Riaad Bey to the Press with regard to the withdrawal of the decision taken by the Great National Assembly that the seat of the Government should be at Angora

7 It is difficult to say with any certainty what is the reason for this sudden change in the attitude of Mustafa Kemal and his colleagues towards the Caliphate, but it is probably due to a combination of several causes

8 The Caliph and Turkish nationalism are incompatible, and it is possible that Kemal and his colleagues have come to the conclusion that the Caliph is a danger to the Nationalist régime, and that the only way to get rid of him is to drive him from office by a campaign of vilification

9 The Caliph is a Turk and a member of the Ottoman dynasty, and as such is the natural rallying point for all Turkish elements which are opposed to the Nationalist régime, and which are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs in Turkey

10 The Caliph is also the head of the Moslem religion, and as such is the natural rallying point for all Moslems who are dissatisfied with the secularisation of the State which has been carried out by the Nationalists

11 His Majesty's Government have no wish to interfere in such a question as the future of the Caliphate, but it was given to understand by Ismet Pasha at the time of the Lausanne Conference that His Majesty's Government would not be allowed to remain indifferent to any attempt to deprive the Caliph of his position as head of the Moslem religion

12 The Caliph's position as head of the Moslem religion is a valuable asset to Great Britain in the event of a Moslem revolt in India, and it is to the interest of Great Britain that the Caliph should remain in Constantinople and not be allowed to go to Angora, where he would be entirely under the influence of Mustafa Kemal

13 I am sending a copy of this despatch to the High Commissioner at Constantinople

I have &c
NEVILE HENDERSON

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[E 10926/7734/44] No 52

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston*—(*Received November 12*)

(No 71)
My Lord Constantinople November 1 1923

I TOOK the opportunity of a visit which I received from Admiral Bristol on the 31st instant, as the weather was by no means suitable for motoring, to discuss with him the question of Angora as the capital of new Turkey and the communications which he had received from the foreign representatives here officially notifying them that the language of the new Turkish State was Turkish, its religion that of Islam, its form of government a republic and its first President Mustafa Kemal If Angora

was really to be the future seat of government it would have seemed natural to include the latter among such agents of the first class. I also said that I had also noticed recent statements in the press to the effect that the Government proposed to send "Ministers of the first class" to London, Paris, &c., and Ministers of the second class to minor capitals, for instance Kabul. Such at least was the French translation of their text, the Turkish original the words used for first class Ministers might equally well apply to Ambassadors. I asked him whether this Government was in fact about to appoint Ambassadors or Ministers only.

Jelal Noury Bey replied that the French translation was incorrect and that the Turkish Government proposed to send Ambassadors as their representatives to the capitals of the Great Powers. He explained the omission of the question of the capital for the reason that, pending the conclusion of peace, the question of the capital had been taken provisionally by the Turkish Government in respect of the capital had been taken provisionally by the Turkish Government in respect of the capital had been taken provisionally by the Turkish Government in respect

**E 10933 343 44]** No. 51

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Received November 17.*

No. 725. (Confidential.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, November 6, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour to state that I have read with great interest the various reports which your Lordship has been good enough to transmit to me on the attitude of Messrs. Musler & Co. towards the present Treaty and the views regarding the position of the Capitulatory Powers which alphabetical sequence further absolves me from the necessity of discussing.

2. As far as I agree with the statement of fact in the report enclosed in your Lordship's despatch No. 1 of the 27th instant, dated the 11th September from the Government of Bombay, I feel that it is almost superfluous that there should exist any doubt in the minds of any one as to the presence in the neighbourhood of the Kemalist Turks, however convenient the statement of the position may be. The report can be regarded as the covering letter and Central Control effect that Mustafa Kemal Pasha would have held the position of Khalifa as well as that of Sultan. The words in Article One of the Caliphate which were declared by the Grand Assembly at Angora to be "without object" were the words "Grand Assembly."

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON.

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**E 10802 7734 44** No. 6

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to H. Henderson (Constantinople).*

(No. 327.)
Telegraphic. *Foreign Office, November 12, 1923.*

YOUR telegram No. 511 of 10th November. Turkish representation in London.

You can inform Ismet Gaziowett that His Majesty's Government welcome the appointment of Yussuf Kemal as Turkish representative there.

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**E 10971 199 44** No. 7

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Received November 13.*

No. 727. (Secret.)
Telegraphic. *Constantinople, November 12, 1923.*

YOUR telegram No. 324.

I have received privately the assurance expressing his pleasure at the acceptance by Turkey of your personal message.

He begs me to assure you that he is anxious to do what he can to bring back the good relations which existed between the two countries, and that his representative will be instructed to confer with your Lordship as His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with a view to discussing commercial relations and the supply of stores between the two countries.

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**E 10994 8766 44** No. 8

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Received November 13.)*

No. 518.
Telegraphic. R. *Constantinople, November 13, 1923.*

I AM forwarding by bag lengthy communication received from Turkish Government addressed to the Italian Embassy, stating that Turkish Government have been informed by Greece of engagements entered into by Greek Government in connection with Exchange of Populations Agreement.



Note in particular accuses Greece:

1. Of intimidating Moslems into abandoning their property.
2. Preventing them (except in the case of Muslims) from removing their goods and live stock.
3. Confiscating and destroying records and deeds.
4. Compelling them to leave and disregarding part of Mixed Commission's powers (one of those who have reached Turkey have been provided with declaration stipulated in article 4 of convention).

Note also urging Powers to use good offices at Athens to put an end to persecution in Near East and to loss of confidence in the power to authority of League of Nations as a result of Greek attitude.

Repeated to Athens (No. 130.)

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**[E 10995 5768 44** No. 9

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Received November 13.)*

No. 519.)
Telegraphic. *Constantinople, November 13, 1923.*

MY immediate preceding telegram.

Question of Greek treatment of Moslems was the subject of heated debate in the Grand National Assembly on 10th November during which several Deputies asked for reprisals. Ismet Pasha declined to resort to reprisals but declared he could not guarantee peace.

Next day the subject was debated in secret session and I hear that Ismet Pasha spoke with a view to avoiding any such step as reprisals, but there was bitter outcry in the Turkish press and in the Grand National Assembly on the subject of these alleged persecutions.

Repeated to Athens (No. 131.)

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**[E 11027 7882 44** No.

*The Marquess of Crewe to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. (Received November 15.)*

No. 1014.) Britain
Telegraphic. *Paris, November 14, 1923.*

YOUR Reuter's No. 3 of 10th. Turkish Independence Convention.

Minister for Foreign Affairs has given me a proposed description of nationals and arrangement of article 2 of the Treaty of Sèvres which he would like to see discussed at the forthcoming meeting of the Conseil des Ambassadeurs.

Minister for Foreign Affairs also gave me to understand that Serbia should be consulted before any action is considered and I presume she should be made to accede to the Convention by the insertion of a separate article of the Convention, which would read:—

"Le gouvernement yougoslave par [illegible] l'accession [illegible] à la présente convention [illegible] à la Société des Nations."

"Avec la même réserve [illegible] traité de Sèvres la Sainte-Etat sera [illegible] déclarer par la présente convention [illegible] à ce traité de paix."

Entre les plénipotentiaires.

I shall be grateful for early intimation as to whether you are prepared to agree to this proposed procedure.

E 11043 8766 44 No. 61

*Mr Bentinck to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 15*)

(No. 548)
Telegraphic) R Athens, November 14, 1923

CONSTANTINOPLE telegram No. 518

Mr Alexander Pallis member of Mixed Commission tells me that similar protest had been received by commission. With so many refugees in Macedonia there was naturally some confusion and disorder but this commission were trying to remedy. Until commission were organised Greek Government had purposely prohibited departure Moslems except by those in Macedonia. Very few animals live stock had been requisitioned but by agreement reached in commission all live stock requisitioned since 7th October was to be restored.

As regards points 3 and 4 Turkish Government had evidently taken the initiative in the matter. There were at Smyrna about 2,500 Moslem families or about 10,000 souls on their way from Serbia to Turkey. These appeared to have left in some disorder but they had nothing to do with Greek Government or Mixed Commission. Breaches of Lausanne Treaty and Convention committed by Turks in Constantinople and Greece Government would have granted our protest about these.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

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E 11072 8766 44 No. 62

*Mr Bentinck to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 16*)

No. 541
Cele graphic) R Athens, November 15, 1923

My telegram No. 548

Head of Political Bureau spoke to me today about this as Greek Government have received full text of indictment. He was very hurt at lack of compliments when matter was first referred to Constantinople last year and to which they are still exposed. As a matter of fact he wondered what was at the bottom of Turkish hurried manœuvre in that he feared that they sought to exploit the question of Greeks from Asia Minor. Greek Government were preparing a counter statement to report which he would send to me.

(Repeated to Constantinople.)

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E 11027 7862 44 No. 63

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to the Marquess of Crewe, Paris*

(No. 493)
Telegraphic) R Foreign Office, November 16, 1923

Your telegram No. 1014 of 14th November: Turkish Reparation Commission.

Many thanks.

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E 10931/7734 44 No. 64

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Sir Henderson Clifford Cooper*

No. 128

Sir, Foreign Office, November 16, 1923

I HAVE had under consideration your despatch No. 1,078 of the 9th October, reporting your conversations with Monsieur Ismet Pasha, the Turkish representative, on the question of the Great Powers and their claim to appoint Ambassadors to the capitals of the different powers and their assertion that Foreign Consuls shall take rank as Consuls-General at Angora.

2. In the absence of any further observations from your despatch No. 1,093 of the 16th October, to which the attention of Monsieur Ismet Pasha has been drawn, I assume that the Turkish Government do not intend to insist upon their claim that Foreign Consuls shall take rank as Consuls-General at Angora.

3. With regard to the question of Ambassadors, I am prepared to agree that the Heads of Missions at Angora should be Ambassadors, and I am prepared to instruct His Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to that effect.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

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circumstances I am prepared to grant to Angora similar treatment to that accorded to Constantinople. I am sorry, however, to have to add that I desire to explain that I am not prepared to recommend to His Majesty the dispatch of Ambassadors to Angora as His Majesty's Government have not yet received from His Majesty's representative at Constantinople any report on the proposed establishment of friendly relations between Powers and Turkey, or any request to appoint Ambassadors. Ambassadors, Ministers, as was the custom before the war, are sent to countries with which their Governments are in a state of peace with Turkey.

3. With regard to Angora, Ismet Pasha must understand that I am not prepared to entertain the idea of Angora becoming an Ambassador to Constantinople.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

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E 11102, 7734 44] No. 65

*Mr Child to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received November 17*)

(No. 1,181.)
My Lord, Washington, November 7, 1923.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 1,051 of yesterday's date, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a note from the United States Government regarding the question of diplomatic representation in Turkey.

I have, &c.
E. C. CHILTON

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Enclosure No. 65

*Mr Hughes to Mr Child*

Sir, Department of State, Washington, November 8, 1923.

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 30th October, referring to proposals by the representatives of Turkey that your Government should send an Ambassador to Constantinople after the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne by the Turkish Government, it being understood that the United States should be afforded the opportunity to negotiate through its representatives in Constantinople as well as here a separate treaty, according to Ambassadorial rank, and that they should be represented at Angora at the seat of the Turkish Government by Ambassadors.

In reply you are informed that the United States does not consider that the Treaty of Lausanne requires the appointment of Ambassadors to Angora, and that the United States Government would be glad to receive from the Turkish Government any proposals which they may have to make with a view to the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkey, such proposals to be considered with the understanding that the question of the rank of the diplomatic representatives of the two countries in Turkey will be the subject of further discussion.

With the exception of the diplomatic relations to exist between the United States and Turkey, as set forth in the Allied Governments' proposal upon the ratification of the Treaty, this Government would be willing to consider any proposals which the Turkish Government may make with a view to entering into treaty relations with Turkey.

Further than the foregoing, the United States Government would not be disposed to send Ambassadors to Angora to be received by the Turkish Government unless it were understood that Ambassadors would be accorded by the Turkish Government the right to visit Constantinople for the purpose of presenting their respective credentials to the Sultan, such representatives in Turkey.

In regard to the question of the future relations with the Turkish Government, you are informed that the United States would be disposed to send Ambassadors to Angora and Constantinople on the understanding that the privileges and courtesies would be accorded by the Turkish Government under reciprocal conditions to the Ambassadors to Angora and to the diplomatic representatives of the United States at Constantinople.

In regard to the question of the status of the Turkish authorities to establish Angora as the capital of Turkey, and to appoint and receive Ambassadors at the seat of the Government, I am instructed to say that the United States Government is not disposed to question the right of the Turkish Government to establish the capital of Turkey at Angora or to appoint Ambassadors to Angora, but that it does not consider that the Treaty of Lausanne requires the United States Government to send Ambassadors to Angora, and that the United States Government would be glad to receive from the Turkish Government any proposals which they may have to make with a view to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Turkey, such proposals to be considered with the understanding that the question of the rank of the diplomatic representatives of the two countries in Turkey will be the subject of further discussion.

Accept, &c.
CHARLES E. HUGHES

E 11126 52 44

No.

*Mr. [illegible] to the Marquess [illegible] — Received [illegible]*

My Lord

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[E 11130 7734 44

No 68

*Mr Henderson, to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (Received November 19)

No 7[illegible]

HIS Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note from the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs respecting the choice of Angora as the capital of Turkey

*Constantinople November [illegible]*

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*Enclosure in No 68*

*Translation of Note from Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Mr Henderson*

[illegible] Ambassador, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has decided that Angora should be the capital of Turkey

*Angora, November 12*

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[F 11168 11168 44

No 69

*Mr Lindley to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (Received November 19)

No 521

Telegraphic

SERIOUS situation has arisen between the British

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[F 11167 8768 44

No 70

*Mr Rendel to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (Received November 19)

No 561

Telegraphic

MY telegram No 551 *Athens, November 19, 1923*

Under explanations now addressed to [illegible] Treaty of Peace Cargo Affair is not to be pressed, as result of [illegible] of Greek Cargo Affair is not to be pressed, as result of [illegible] of Greek Cargo [illegible] Treaty of Peace, and [illegible] of Greek Cargo [illegible] Treaty of Peace, and [illegible] of Greek Cargo [illegible] Treaty of Peace, and

On the 20th September 1922, Lieut.-Major [illegible] D.S.O., M.C., R.E., M.G.C. to report to the Director of Works, Constantinople, for duty in connection with the erection of [illegible] at Ismid, Ismidt, Ismidt, Ismidt

state of siege would also be enacted [illegible] to take over the complete [illegible] as it affects [illegible] would like to thank [illegible] the necessary ideas. I therefore propose that [illegible] look [illegible] I consider it [illegible] interest to all and well to [illegible] efforts [illegible] like a campaign [illegible] agreement with [illegible] Ismet Pasha [illegible] expect [illegible] few [illegible] of the letter we were all [illegible] a few days at the Lausanne Conference [illegible] the conference [illegible] It was then [illegible] things [illegible] effort [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

supply and clothing was getting [illegible], so much so that early in June 1923 I became convinced that the Turkish army was [illegible] more than 50 per cent of its value six months previously. I therefore felt it my duty to inform His Majesty's Government that I was of opinion that if the Allies should decide to take no further concessions to the Turks the Allied forces would be able to enforce any policy decided upon provided the Allies were prepared [illegible] to insist straight to the Bosphorus. I was convinced that the Turks would not push matters to extremes. I was sure to have an opportunity of testing their attitude for not a post I had been aware of the arrival from Anatolia of [illegible] guns and equipment from Ataturk to Eastern Thrace and Turkish army was [illegible] pressed [illegible] against a Greek attack. This was strictly against the Mudros Convention, which allowed the formation of a force [illegible] only Eastern Thrace. While the Greeks no longer threatened Turkish territory it was impossible to reinforce men, horses and guns to Anatolia.

30 [illegible] with [illegible] attempt to negotiate from a position of strength, I asked the Admiralty to send to the Dardanelles the battleship Iron Duke, which was ordered to be ready [illegible] for Service at Malta. This proved to be correct. The Iron Duke left Portsmouth on the 23rd July, and I was joined by HMS Splendid. She was boarded by parties of Guards and Royal Marines, assisted by bluejackets of HMS Sparrowhawk and Forward, as follows:—

200 soldiers.
300 [illegible]
[illegible]
14 [illegible] guns.

The landing parties were divided into companies under the direction of Major R. E. Harvie Edwards, assisted by Lieutenant H.N. [illegible] Lieutenant R.A. Cawood, Guards, and Lieutenant [illegible] 14-pounder guns were landed, and [illegible] Upon the Iron Duke's arrival at Constantinople the guns were [illegible] to the Turkish authorities, who [illegible] the presence of the guns and [illegible] proved fatal.

The [illegible] parties were [illegible] to Ismid, Panderma, Mudania, Gallipoli and Chanak, and [illegible] Angora Government as evidencing an intention to [illegible] Allied forces. Although [illegible] incidents, owing to the [illegible] presence of the troops, [illegible] to certain incidents, owing to the [illegible] but [illegible] the Kemalists resisted [illegible] right to try any [illegible] result [illegible] the landing forces [illegible] the safety of the Allied forces. After the arrival of the Iron Duke [illegible] Angora Government [illegible] to withdraw their troops from Ismid, Panderma, Mudania, Gallipoli and Chanak, and [illegible] that the [illegible] to [illegible] withdrawal [illegible] to the presence of the troops. [illegible] the 24th July [illegible] at the Allied [illegible] would be [illegible] the six weeks of [illegible] by the Angora Government. [illegible] stages of the armament.

[illegible] were [illegible] the [illegible] responded to the [illegible] assembled [illegible] the [illegible] Bosphorus [illegible] the [illegible] Dardanelles [illegible] Asiatic [illegible] Dardanelles [illegible] Mudros [illegible] Admiral [illegible] Mediterranean [illegible] Admiral [illegible] Admiralty [illegible] Admiral [illegible] Admiralty [illegible] Admiral [illegible] Admiralty

t e Marquess Curzon, G.C.S.I. I've had a great many dealings with the Athel gh Commissioners during the last two years, and our relations have always been of the most cordial nature.

Ts The authorities of a foreign port are a trust they assume great, especially in a city of the size of Constantinople but I feel convinced that many useful demonstrative measures were put in force by the Allies until the final departure of the Turkish garrison. The assistance which we had from the gendarmerie, the Sanitary Service, and the police was of the highest value. Various sanitary measures for protection against several diseases were also put in force. Constabulary, military forces, and warships have rendered material help, and I have personally received hospitality, kindness, and consideration from the officers with whom I have come in contact during the past two years. The institution of various social measures

39 The work of the Allied Press Commission, over which Colonel A. Ballard, C.B., C.M.G., and subsequently Major-General H. A. Hunt, C.B., C.M.G., presided, deserves great credit. The work of the commission during the past two years has been very great. They have been responsible for the translation of all orders, and have had to work in the closest relations with the Turkish press. The best that I can say to their work is to say that there was no cause for complaint. The assistance of the Turkish interpreters attached to the Allied Press Commission

40 The Inspectorship of the Allied Police was a difficult one to fill to the satisfaction of all parties. Colonel L. C. Maxse, C.B.E., M.V.O., of the Scots Guards, Lieutenant-Colonel W. F. C. F., D.S.O., of the Queen's Regiment, and Major T. L. C. Curtis, Oxfordshire Light Infantry, in succession. The Peace Conference police rendered excellent work and obtained very high praise throughout.

The demonstration of Sunday, March 9, in front of the Allied Embassies in Pera was the only occasion on which any hostile attempt was made to the Allied Peace Commission.

On the occasion of the funeral of Turkish officials who had been most cruelly murdered by the Young Turk party, Sir Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Admiral of the Fleet, Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean Station, and Admiral Sir Richard Wemyss, K.C.B., M.V.O., Second Sea Lord of the Admiralty, were invited to be present, and a guard of honour was provided by the Allied Powers. The British guard was composed of 100 men of the Royal Marine Light Infantry, under the command of Major E. C. Dawe, R.E.A. The organization and preparation of the guard was carried out by Major Dawe, and the smartness and soldierly appearance of the guard on parade was the subject of much favourable comment. The guard was inspected by Admiral Sir Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe, His Britannic Majesty's Supreme Commander-in-Chief, and marched past him in slow time and quick time, with fixed bayonets, to the music of the massed bands of the Allied Powers. The Union Jack was hoisted on the flagstaff of the Embassy of Great Britain at the moment when the guard presented arms, and was lowered to the half-mast position when the guard marched past. The guard was commanded by Major Dawe, R.E.A., and was composed of 1 captain, 3 subalterns, 6 sergeants, 6 corporals, 2 buglers, and 80 rank and file. The guard was inspected by Major-General Sir Charles Dobell, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Constantinople

Similarly, Colonel (temporary Colonel) Commander (Lieut) A S Cowan, CMG CBE, DSO AM commanding 28th Division and Lieutenant-Colonel H A Walker, CB, CMG DSO Royal Fusiliers, also have my entire confidence. The Chanak area has required very special treatment in the administration of those troops remaining there.

Every assistance has been given by the executive staff of the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force.

I would also draw attention to the services rendered by Major-General Sir W H Anderson, KCB, as Major-General General Staff at Headquarters, Major-General A A McHardy CB CMG DSO as Major-General in charge of administration. These two senior staff officers were sent out at very short notice when the force was increased. The prompt administrative arrangements made by these two staff officers were excellent. The change of base from Constantinople to Ismid was carried out with marked success and reflects great credit on Major-General McHardy and his staff. He is to be congratulated on having, during the time he was in charge, built up a very large reserve of supplies and stores at Ismid. His Majesty's Government owe a large debt of gratitude to him.

I would like to draw attention to the services rendered by Colonel (temporary Brigadier-General) W B Emery, CB CMG for the very valuable work carried out by him during the evacuation by the Greeks of Eastern Thrace and the subsequent administration of the Kirk-Kilisse area up to the date of his departure.

The work of Brevet Colonel W H Hurlock CMG DSO as Chief Staff Officer, General Staff and Colonel (temporary Major-General) on the Staff, M H E Welch CB CMG as Director of Supplies and Transport during the last three years has been of great value. These officers have rendered invaluable assistance to me in handling the situation as it arose.

It is due to the excellent way in which the evacuation and sale of stores proceeded that these services were carried out as quickly as they were. I would also like to draw attention to the services rendered by the Staff, M H E Welch CB, CMG, and to the officers under his supervision, Assistant Director of Supplies and Transport, Lieut-Colonel E P Dent, DSO Worcestershire Regiment (temporary Colonel); Lieut-Colonel R C M Bacon MBE, Army Veterinary Corps, and Lieutenant (temporary Captain) J D Wood, MBE MC RA. Practically the whole of the following transport and stores were collected and distributed by these officers, assisted by the War Office Control Board of Trade.

I would specially like to draw attention to the services rendered by Captain C Unwin VC RN as principal naval transport officer. The satisfactory way in which the shipping arrangements connected with the movements of troops, the maintenance of the force and the formation of the Ismid base have been carried out is largely due to Captain Unwin and his staff.

Since Captain Unwin left, these duties have been carried out in a manner satisfactory to Captain C H Dewar CBE, RN who has rendered very valuable assistance to whom my thanks are due. So far the small way in which the evacuation has been carried out at Chanak is due to the assistance rendered by the naval transport officers, the saving of life in the straits of the Dardanelles and the formation of the Ismid base.

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I have very great pleasure in bringing to your notice the valuable service rendered by Captain Unwin, Captain Dewar and the officers and men under their command.

Lieutenant-Colonel E P Dent, DSO Worcestershire Regiment (temporary Colonel) has been in charge of the Ismid base since its formation. He has rendered very valuable assistance in the formation of the base and in the subsequent administration of the troops there. I would like to draw attention to the services rendered by Lieutenant-Colonel E P Dent, DSO Worcestershire Regiment (temporary Colonel) has been in charge of the Ismid base since its formation. He has rendered very valuable assistance in the formation of the base and in the subsequent administration of the troops there.

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[E 11277/7862/44] No. 76

*The Marquess of Crewe to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received November 24)*

(No. 268)
My Lord *Paris, November 23, 1923.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 1241 of yesterday's date regarding the convention relative to the assessment and reparation of damage suffered in Turkey by the nationals of the contracting Powers I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the convention as signed by me to lay together with a copy of the protocol relating to the exchange thereto.

In my telegram No. 1241 of the 14th instant, I had the honour to submit to your Lordship that provision should be made for the accession of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State to the convention by the insertion in the following sentence of article 8 —

'Cette convention entrera en vigueur à la date de la Traité de Paix de Lausanne l'État serbe-croate-slovène accédera à la présente convention lorsqu'il aura signé le traité de paix'

The Marquis of Foreign Affairs has since considered that this sentence would be clearer if drafted as follows —

L'État serbe-croate-slovène accédera à la présente convention lorsque la Traité de Paix de Lausanne le sera pas entré en vigueur à la condition toutefois que le traité de paix

and I have accordingly instructed
Assuming that you approve the Italian Ambassador here acts by Mr Otchen the Spanish Ambassador at Paris, a letter of signature will be inserted, and I would be grateful if you would furnish me therefore

I have, &c.
CREWE.

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Enclosure No. 76

*Convention relative to the Assessment and Reparation of Damage suffered in Turkey by the Nationals of the Contracting Powers*

LA MAJESTÉ BRITANNIQUE, l'Empereur d'Allemagne, Roi de Prusse, Président du Reich, les Puissances alliées et associées d'une part, et la Puissance associée de l'autre part, désirant régler d'un commun accord les questions relatives à la réparation des dommages subis par les ressortissants des Puissances contractantes en Turquie, ont résolu de conclure une convention à cet effet et ont nommé pour leurs Plénipotentiaires savoir

Sa Majesté le Roi du Royaume-Uni de Grande-Bretagne et des Territoires situés au delà des Mers Empereur des Indes, le Très Honorable Robert Cecil Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, Lord Privy Seal, Son Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire auprès de Sa Majesté le Président de la République Française

Le Président de la République Française, le général de Division Maurice Pellé, Ambassadeur de France, Haut-Commissaire de la République française en Orient, Grand Officier de l'Ordre national de la Légion d'honneur

Sa Majesté le Roi d'Italie, le baron Carlo Galli, Grand-Croix des Ordres des Saints Maurice et Lazare et de la Couronne d'Italie, Son Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire auprès de la République française

Sa Majesté l'Empereur du Japon, M. Kentaro Otchiai, Jusammi, Premier Grand-Croix de l'Ordre du Soleil Levant, Son Ambassadeur extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire à Rome

Sa Majesté le Roi de Roumanie

Lesquels après avoir échangé leurs pleins pouvoirs trouvés en bonne et due forme sont convenus des dispositions suivantes



ARTICLE 1er

Les Puissances contractantes conviennent d'affecter en premier lieu à la réparation des dommages subis par leurs ressortissants

1. Les sommes visées au paragraphe 8 de l'article 238 du Traité de Lausanne
2. Les bons du Trésor ottoman pour un montant total de cinq millions de livres or sterling que le Gouvernement ottoman s'engage par la présente convention à affecter à la réparation desdits dommages

Ce fonds sera constitué par la commission prévue à l'article 2 de la présente convention

ARTICLE 2

Une commission dénommée 'Commission d'Évaluation' sera instituée dans un délai d'un mois après la mise en vigueur du traité avec la Turquie pour évaluer les dommages ci-après définis subis par les ressortissants des Puissances contractantes.

ARTICLE 3

Cette commission se composera de trois membres respectivement nommés par les Gouvernements de France, de Grande-Bretagne et d'Italie. Dans le cas où l'un des dommages intéressera un ressortissant d'un autre Gouvernement contractant, il sera de droit admis à la commission pour l'évaluation de ce dommage un membre additionnel nommé par ce Gouvernement. Les voix égales de tous les membres seront prépondérantes.

ARTICLE 4

La commission fonctionnera, dans les conditions réglées par le règlement visé à l'article 5

Les décisions seront prises à la majorité des voix

Les fonctions de président seront exercées successivement pendant un an par chacun des membres français, britannique et italien

Le siège de la commission sera fixé à Paris, où les Gouvernements de France, de Grande-Bretagne et d'Italie

Les frais de fonctionnement seront payés par les Gouvernements.

ARTICLE 5

Les opérations de la commission devront être achevées dans un délai de deux ans à dater de la mise en vigueur du traité de Lausanne

ARTICLE 6

La commission aura pour mission de déterminer dans les limites prévues par la présente convention et d'après les règles suivantes

(a) Les dommages à évaluer sont ceux qui auront été causés aux biens, droits et intérêts des ressortissants des Puissances contractantes par les mesures de contrainte prises par les autorités ottomanes ou par les personnes dont elles sont responsables depuis le 1er août 1914 jusqu'à la mise en vigueur du traité de Lausanne, à l'exception toutefois des dommages résultant des opérations de guerre proprement dites, des dommages résultant des réquisitions régulières et des séquestres et confiscations régulières, ainsi que des dommages résultant des mesures prises par les autorités ottomanes pendant la guerre pour le compte des gouvernements ennemis.

(b) Les dommages causés par l'incendie de Smyrne aux biens et propriétés des ressortissants des Puissances contractantes

La commission aura pouvoir de fixer le délai dans lequel devra être faite la déclaration des dommages visés par le présent article. Elle aura également le droit de décider si, dans les cas où il est établi que le réclamant a pu obtenir une indemnité de la part de toute autre source, il y a lieu de tenir compte de cette indemnité et de déduire le montant de l'évaluation.

(c) Les dommages causés aux biens, droits et intérêts qui auront été placés sous la protection des ressortissants des Puissances contractantes

La commission aura pouvoir de fixer le délai dans lequel devra être faite la déclaration des dommages visés par le présent article. Elle aura également le droit de décider si, dans les cas où il est établi que le réclamant a pu obtenir une indemnité de la part de toute autre source, il y a lieu de tenir compte de cette indemnité et de déduire le montant de l'évaluation.

(d) Les ouvrages, usines, annexes et dépendances situés sur les territoires restés turcs à la date de la mise en vigueur du Traité de Lausanne par les sociétés ottomanes ainsi que les propriétés ressortissants des Puissances contractantes visées à l'article 16 du Traité d'avril 1914

La cession de ces différents ouvrages comprend également les accessoires qui leur sont rattachés par le Gouvernement turc et notamment les chalands servant à leur exploitation. La valeur desdits ouvrages sera fixée en espèces et sera déduite du montant revenant aux sociétés ottomanes prévu à l'article 16. En ce qui concerne la dette des cadastres, les sommes seront portées en déduction de la valeur totale des biens du Trésor visés à l'article 16.

2. Seront exclus de la cession prévue à l'article 16 ci-dessus par celle

(a) Les ouvrages, usines, annexes et dépendances, propriété de l'État ottoman ou du Gouvernement turc;

(b) Les valeurs mobilières diverses et payables par le Gouvernement turc, prévues par l'article 12 du Traité d'Ouchy du 18 octobre 1912, ainsi que les titres, bons et obligations résultant des avances faites par l'Europe;

(c) Les reconnaissances de sommes remises aux créanciers par le Gouvernement turc en exécution de la décision arbitrale du 12 novembre 1912, et dont le montant sera déduit de la valeur totale des biens du Trésor visés à l'article 16 ci-dessus.

ARTICLE 7

Les dispositions des articles 5 et 6 ci-dessus ne préjugent en rien des questions qui pourront être soulevées par le Gouvernement turc au sujet des concessions et engagements accordés par le Gouvernement ottoman antérieurement à la date de la mise en vigueur du Traité de Lausanne, ainsi que des arrangements qui pourront être conclus à ce sujet.

ARTICLE 8

[illegible] présente convention [illegible]

[illegible] ratifications [illegible] Paris [illegible] temps [illegible] ratifications [illegible] Français [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] présente convention [illegible] Traité de Paix de Lausanne [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

would be at a disadvantage as to the representatives of other Powers such as Soviet Russia and Persia whose representatives were there Ambassadors. He added that he had reason to know that Germany also was ready to appoint an Ambassador at Angora to reside exclusively there but Angora had intimated that he had information to the effect that Herr von Rosenberg would be destined to be the future German Ambassador to Turkey.

9. I drew the attention of Ismet to the fact that the retention of Angora as the seat of government was an indispensable factor in the scheme of Mustafa Kemal's annihilation of Greek influence in Asia Minor. Now that Adrianople appears likely to be evacuated by the Greeks in the near future, Angora is likely to be the capital for a considerable time to come. Even that does not appear to be the case unless it be followed by a treaty which the Sultan's entourage does not appear to contemplate. Apart from Kemal, there is a strong school of thought in favour of the establishment of Constantinople as the seat of government. It is possible, but not probable, that the Allies might exclude that city from Angora's jurisdiction, and make it a free city, as they were at one time thinking of doing with Danzig. Ismet was of opinion that Angora would ultimately become the capital of Turkey. Generally speaking, however, I gathered from the drift of his remarks that the present Grand National Assembly, as the representative body of Turkey, is likely to remain at the seat of government. Though the Angora Government is probably stronger than it was a year ago, it has yet to succeed in raising the Turkish standard of life to the level of Constantinople, and I am not prepared to go so far as to assert with absolute confidence that Angora would ever become the capital of Turkey.

10. What attitude the Allied Powers propose to adopt during the interval pending the withdrawal of their troops from Constantinople is a question which will have to be considered by the Turkish Government at a very early date. Should the Allies decide to retain their troops in Constantinople until the Treaty of Peace has been signed, the Turkish Government will be placed in a very difficult position. Ismet was evidently under the impression that the Allies would withdraw their troops from Constantinople as soon as the Treaty of Peace had been signed, and he was apparently not aware that the Allies had decided to remain in occupation of Constantinople until the Treaty had been ratified by the Powers. I gathered from Ismet's remarks that the Turkish Government would be prepared to permit the Allies to retain their troops in Constantinople for a short period after the signature of the Treaty of Peace, but that they would not be prepared to allow the occupation to be prolonged indefinitely. Ismet was of opinion that the Allies should withdraw their troops from Constantinople as soon as the Treaty of Peace had been signed, and that the Turkish Government would then be prepared to enter into negotiations with the Powers for the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance. He was apparently not aware that the Allies had decided to remain in occupation of Constantinople until the Treaty had been ratified by the Powers. I drew Ismet's attention to the fact that the Allies had decided to remain in occupation of Constantinople until the Treaty had been ratified by the Powers, and that the Turkish Government would therefore have to wait for a considerable time before they could enter into negotiations with the Powers for the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance

6. In this connection it is worth recording that when he was created a few days ago Earl [illegible] asked that his pension might be increased from £5,000 to £6,000. His request was refused on the ground that [illegible] would be an unfortunate precedent.

The Egyptian Government's attempts to suppress all comment on the Anglo-Egyptian crisis in the Egyptian Press during the last few weeks is now manifested regarding the assault of the Viceroy's car by the Press, and in Zaghloul Bey's arrest of this gentleman from the front row. It is scarcely to the credit of the Egyptian Government that they have not offered the slightest explanation of this outrage to the liberty of the Press. Certainly no reasonable pretext for Zaghloul Bey's arrest was possessed because [illegible] Egyptian Press was [illegible]. Why they ask should the Viceroy not be subject to severe criticism [illegible] if they really stand for liberty of speech and criticism, and are desirous to establish [illegible] assistance and consult its superior, viz. the Minister of the Interior?

8. It is difficult to see the reason for the present [illegible] last before the last [illegible] of Parliament. Westby has [illegible] to point out that the [illegible] appeared in the Viking newspaper of the 17th November. It was [illegible] whether this was published about the 8th or 9th of November, but [illegible] with the 17th November, and [illegible] against the alleged attempt to assault Viceroy. The Viceroy [illegible] 17th November, [illegible] with the object [illegible] the Press [illegible] the Egyptian Government [illegible] Egyptian Press [illegible] Egyptian Government [illegible] Egyptian Press [illegible] Egyptian Government [illegible] Egyptian Press [illegible]

E 11176 1019 65 No 80

*Foreign Office to Admiralty*

Sir *Foreign Office, November 26, 1923*

In reply to your letter of the 14th instant on the subject of the Mosul frontier negotiations, I am directed by the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to state for the information of the Duke of Devonshire that the careful consideration of the Turkish objections to the proposal that the conference should be held in London has convinced his Lordship that there is nothing to be gained by such a change of venue. He has therefore instructed Mr Lindsay to inform the Turkish Government that His Majesty's Government agree to the suggestion regarding a neutral locale.

With regard to the second paragraph of your letter under reply, I am to state that, in view of the telegraphic wording of Mr Lindsay's report of the conversation, a copy of which was sent to you with this Department's letter of the 3rd instant, Lord Curzon does not consider that any definite grounds for the Turkish objections that have been put forward, so far as they relate to the Mosul frontier question, have been elucidated.

I am, &c.
(for) MAURICE HANKEY

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E 11346 2104 44 No 81

*Sir C Dalton to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received November 7)*

(No 15)

My Lord *Washington, November 1, 1923*

With reference to my despatch No 1 of the 4th instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have had an interview with Mr Evans Worthington, the agent-in-charge of the Mosul Petroleum Syndicate, at which he informed me that, as the Turkish Government have not yet complied with the requirements of the Mosul frontier treaty by the withdrawal of their troops, the Syndicate do not feel themselves in a position to proceed with the drilling operations which they had intended to undertake this autumn.

Mr Worthington added that the Syndicate had no intention of abandoning their rights, but that they would be obliged to wait until the Turkish Government had carried out their treaty obligations.

I have &c.
H. G. DALTON

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E 11348 11168 44 No 82

*H Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received November 27)*

(No 524)
(Telegraphic)
MY telegram No 521
Strike ended

*Constantinople, November 27, 1923*



[E 11355 1019 65] No 83

*Colonial Office to Foreign Office.—(Received November 28.)*

Sir *Downing Street, November 27, 1923.*

I AM directed by the Duke of Devonshire to refer to the correspondence ending with the High Commissioner for Iraq's letter of the 2nd November, a copy of which was transmitted to you under cover of the letter from this Department of the 22nd November, relating to the Iraq Government's desire to be officially represented at the forthcoming frontier negotiations with the Turkish Government, and I have asked that the proposal may be submitted for the consideration of the Turkish Government.

2. I am to enclose, for the information of the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, an extract from Iraq Intelligence Report No 7 from which it appears that the Iraq Government are actively making representations to the Capitulant Powers in the hope that they will represent the Iraq case to the Turkish Government.

3. His Majesty's Government's proposal is not inconsistent with article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne which provides for the future relations to be settled by direct agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Turkish Government, and it is strongly to the advantage of the Iraq Government that the other party to the dispute should be represented at the negotiations.

4. Should the Iraq Government persist in their refusal to be represented, it is possible that the Turkish Government may refuse to proceed with the negotiations, and in that event the responsibility for the failure of the negotiations would rest with the Iraq Government.

5. In these circumstances, I am to request that you will inform the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston that it would appear desirable that His Majesty's Government should be represented at the negotiations, although it is understood that the Turkish Government would probably object to the presence of an Iraq representative in a diplomatic capacity. It is suggested that the Iraq Government should be informed that His Majesty's Government would be prepared to agree to the presence of an Iraq representative in the capacity of an expert adviser to the British delegation, provided that the Turkish Government agree to the presence of such a representative in that capacity.

I am, &c.
J. E. SHUCKBURGH

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Enclosure in No 83

*Extract from Iraq Intelligence Report No 7*

7th. At the meeting of the 22nd October a letter was read from His Excellency the High Commissioner stating that his Excellency had seen articles in the local press demanding that Iraq should participate in the discussions as to the frontier. His Excellency pointed out that the Turkish Government would almost certainly object to Iraq being formally represented, and that though His Majesty's Government would welcome the presence of an Iraq representative with a view to the working of the Iraq Treaty they would be unable to insist on his being admitted. It was considered likely that there would be no objection to the presence of an Iraq representative in a consultative capacity. The Council passed the following resolution:

"That the Iraq Government are desirous of deputing a representative on their behalf to take part in the forthcoming negotiations in connection with the

rities of Iraq ... they ... stat[ed] His Excellency the H[igh] Commissioner ... would ... refer ... to [the] Government of Iraq in order to be [in] a position to give their reply.

... overlarge ... [the] ... Faisal ... represent the Iraq Government ... [to] ... Arabs.

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E 11376 11376 44 No. 84

*Mr Bonar Law to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (Received November 28, 9 a.m. No. 573)

(Telegraph) (R) Paris November 28, 1923

DIRECTOR GENERAL of Mines for Foreign Affairs informed me last night that ... [the] ... Press were ... [to] ... [the] ... Constantinople to Greek subjects which was [the] ... Lausanne ... [the] ... [to] ... groups ... [the] ... 175 ... Treaty Series No. 16 ... [the] ... [to] ... [the] ... paying enterprises Britain ... [the] ... British ... [the] ... British High Commissioner ... [the] ... Foreign Affairs ... [the] ... [to] ... [the] ... but ... [the] ... [to] ... [the] ... [to] ... [the] ... [to]

A commission (the Assessment Commission) will assess the claims and distribute the funds in proportion to the assessed claims

The claims which will rank are those in respect of damage suffered from the Turkish authorities by the nationals of the signatory Powers (or their pre-war 'protegés') between the 1st August 1914 when mobilisation and requisitioning began and the coming into force of the treaty in the territory of pre-war Turkey including requisitions and confiscations as well as direct damage (excluding loss of property) due to acts of war (faits de guerre) whether Turk or Greek was responsible (since it is proposed to allocate responsibility for battle damage in a war zone). On the other hand requisitions by the Greek authorities do not rank and cannot be claimed from Greece under the agreement printed at p. 239 of the Lausanne Treaty Blue Book (Cmd 1929).

The claims of Ottoman companies controlled by Allied nationals rank with certain reservations in damage suffered by decoded States of Syria's (excluded) compensation in cash or kind paid or payable by Turkey under the Concessions Protocol or otherwise is dedicated to the amounts payable to such companies shall not exceed £46 000.

Prescription periods were imposed in order to satisfy Italy which has no interest in Ottoman companies the maximum limit is most likely to come into play and it can safely be stated that it will not operate to reduce by a penny the amount payable to British-owned companies

*Note 3*

In addition to the gold issues the Inter-Allied Commission will receive for the British Government Ottoman funds are expected to yield the net sum of £4 000 000 (Cmd 2105) to meet the cost of their distribution

The history of this matter is as follows. In 1911, Turkey ordered the two battleships 'Reshadieh' and 'Rosandieh' to be built in England. These were requisitioned by His Majesty's Government in 1914. The National Bank of Turkey have uncertain steps by the Ottoman Directors of the 'Reshadieh' to return the Turkish Government (wishing to spread its liability over a long period) and gave to the Turkish Government Treasury Bills. These were sold to the Bank and Turkey paid interest on part of the cash until 1924 when Turkey refused to continue the payments as His Majesty's Government had possession of the battleships. The Bankers sent the bills open to negotiations with the Treasury who agreed reluctantly to buy the bills. Meanwhile His Majesty's Government did not pay for the battleships as Turkey's attitude was uncertain (as it in fact concluded a secret alliance with Germany on 2 August 1914). When Turkey went to war (after an ultimatum) it was duly notified to the Crown in accordance with international law and Turkey's interests. His Majesty's Government acquired these two battleships without paying for them.

In these circumstances it was thought desirable to use these bills to satisfy the strongly expressed views of our French and Italian allies that this country should make special representations to the Turkish Reparation Fund in view of the fact that we had detained these two battleships from Turkey without payment. At a critical time during the second phase of the Lausanne Conference the difference between the British point of view and the combined French and Italian point of view on the one hand and the Allied reparation claims against Turkey was having grave and dangerous repercussions on the question of the Turkish claims for reparation from Greece. Many weeks had passed without it being possible to establish complete agreement between the Allies and the situation grew more critical from day to day. In these circumstances it was considered to be well worth while to raise this comparatively small concession in order to restore the common front and in the result a rupture between Turkey and Greece was successfully avoided.

In order to understand the above remarks fully it must be recollected that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had in fact actually promised to return to Turkey £500 000 of the Inter-Allied Turkish Reparation Fund on the last day of the first part of the Lausanne Conference (the Cabinet felt unable to repeat this offer at any future occasion) and the disappointment of our Allies was natural and intense. As it happened the British Government took a far more serious view of the danger of a rupture between Greece and Turkey than our Allies. Turkey refused to be reassured (if the Allies' offer to waive reparation) otherwise confirmed and the French and Italian Governments refused to confirm this waiver owing to their disappointment about the battleships matter. The price we paid for restoring unity was not very



large. The Turkish Treasury bills are entirely unmarketable and it is much to be feared that Turkey will refuse to recognise any liability in respect of them.

The transaction is however very difficult to describe in public without unnecessarily emphasising this country's change of mind about the battleship matter and thus encouraging Turkey to default on the bills.

## II. Memorandum as to the Ottoman Pre-War Debt

The pre-war Ottoman debt (other than the Ottoman bonds secured on the Empire's tribute) is to be distributed between New Turkey and the successor States, viz. Greece, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Albania, Hedjaz, Nejd, Yemen (so-called Turkish for Empire) were set up in 1912 but Syria, Iraq, Palestine and Arabia which were also lost in the course of the war.

Most of the bonds issued in the European capitals (about one-half of the total debt) are held in France. This debt is governed by the Decree of Muharrem 1 1888 and the Arrangement of 1903 and 1911. In 1876 a moratorium was imposed and the Ottoman Public Debt Council was set up to control the collection of the revenues assigned to the representatives of the Ottoman Debt (Conseil d'Administration de la Dette Publique Ottomane). But the Angora Government has taken possession of these assigned revenues except in the neighbouring islands of Crete and Rhodes, which have been annexed by Greece and Italy respectively. The Debt Council will (it is said) then cease to exist, but Turkey will continue to pay the expenses and the Unified Debt and the Turkish portion of the 4 per cent Loan (see Cmd. 2105).

The United States of America, which was not a party to the Treaty of Lausanne, has special interests. The assets of the Ottoman Debt Council (which has ceased to exist) are vested in the Ottoman Debt Council (which has ceased to exist) are vested in the Ottoman Debt Council (which has ceased to exist) are vested in

III SUMMARY OF THE FINANCIAL CLAUSES OF THE TREATY WITH TURKEY

*Section* I of the financial clauses provides for the distribution of the pre war Ottoman Public Debt between Turkey and the territories detached from the Ottoman Empire after the Balkan wars and after the great war

*Article* 46 lays down as a general principle for the purposes of this summary at any rate that each of the successor States is to receive a somewhat different share from that which they separately undertake by the treaty

*Article* 47 The distribution will take place in two stages I the first place the Ottoman Public Debt as it existed in 1912 will be distributed between Turkey and the States in whose territory is detached from the Balkan wars of 1912 Greece Serbia including Montenegro Bulgaria Albania Italy in respect of the Dodecanese The second stage will be that the balance of the debt for which Turkey remained responsible after the first distribution together with the loans contracted between 1912 and the 1st November 1914 will be distributed between Turkey and the States in whose favour territory is detached from Turkey by the present treaty such as Syria Palestine and Iraq

*Article* 51 The share of each State will be fixed in accordance with the proportion which its revenues during the Ottoman Empire's period of existence bore to the total revenues of the Empire in terms per capita Turkey was not at war the revenues of the years 1909 10 and 1910 11 will be taken as the basis for example the share of Greece will be the fraction represented by the revenues of the Ottoman Empire within the frontiers of 1912 as against the revenues of the territories transferred from Turkey to Greece after the Balkan wars including territory transferred previously to Bulgaria but afterwards to Greece and the share of Palestine will be similarly represented by the revenues during the years 1909 10 and 1910 11 If Turkey within the fourteen months period which ends with the 1st November 1914 had lost by the revenues during the years of those provinces which now constitute Palestine Hedjaz's revenues will be first taken into account in fixing the total share of the Balkan States taken together but will be excluded in calculating the proportion of each Balkan State to the total share thus fixed Salonica Crete the islands to the east of Salonica Asia in 1912 are now part of the Serbian and other annexed territories

*Article* 47 The procedure will be as follows

The Ottoman Public Debt Council will within three months fix the share of each State on the basis described above These States will then become liable for the share thus fixed in the annual charges for the services of the loans of the pre war Ottoman Public Debt

*Article* 48 The States concerned other than Turkey undertake to furnish adequate security for the payment of their share

*Article* 55 The sinking fund and other charges of the loans thus fixed will date back in the case of the Balkan States to the 1st March 1920 The annuity of the annuity charges in respect of the Dodecanese will date back to 17th October 1912 and those in respect of the Greek islands referred to in article 12 to the 1st November 1913

*Article* 55 The arrears thus created will be payable without interest in twenty equal annual sums By a concession agreed on at the second phase of the conference Turkey will in all cases the same terms for the payment of the arrears due in consequence of the seizure of the assigned revenues in Anatolia by the Angora Government Provision is made for adjustment both in regard to the calculation of the share of each State and in regard to the securities to be assigned to such share

*Article* 49 After the share of each State in the annual charges has thus been fixed the capital of the Ottoman Debt will be divided up between the various States concerned each State taking the same fraction of the capital as it has already taken of the annual charges The States concerned will then be able to issue entirely first securities (in exactly the same terms as the existing Ottoman securities) for its own share of the debt After the division of the capital in this manner each State will be responsible (1) for its share in the annual charges of the undivided Ottoman Debt up to the date of this division and (2) for the annual charges of its own share of the capital of the debt as from the date of this division of the capital The detailed arrangements in connection with the division of the capital of the debt are to be dealt with by a special commission at Paris and any questions in which the commission cannot reach agreement will be decided by arbitration



*Article* 52 By a concession made in the second phase of the conference certain advances (*i e* internal short term loans) are to be divided up in the same proportions as the external pre war Ottoman Public Debt

*Article* 56 provides that the German and Austro Hungarian representatives shall no longer sit on the Ottoman Debt Council

*Article* 57 provides that the periods of prescription laid down in the loan contracts shall be treated as having been prolonged by the period of the war

The Annex to this section contains a list of the loans and advances of the Ottoman Public Debt

*Section* 2 of the financial clauses deals with the waiver of reparation and with ancillary matters By *article* 58 Turkey and the Allied Powers mutually renounce all claims for reparation in respect of loss and damage suffered during the war by the Government themselves or by their nationals Turkey renounces in favour of the Allied Powers (other than Greece) her rights to the sums in gold (about 5 000 000*l*) which were deposited during the war in Berlin and Vienna by the German and Austro Hungarian Governments as a loan to Turkey to provide cover for the first issue of Turkish paper currency These sums have been transferred to the Allied Powers by Germany and Austria in accordance with the provisions of the Treaties of Versailles and Saint Germain (The obligations of the Ottoman Debt Council as regards the first issue of Turkish paper currency are cancelled) Turkey also renounces any claims against the British Government in regard to the two battleships which were being built for the Ottoman Empire in British firms, and were requisitioned by the British Government in August 1914

Under *article* 59 Greece recognises her obligation to make good the damage caused in Anatolia by the acts of the Greek army contrary to the laws of war but Turkey foregoes all reparation claims against Greece in consideration of the financial position of Greece resulting from the prolongation of the war and its consequences

*Article* 60 provides that the States to whom territory is detached from Turkey after the Balkan wars shall by the present treaty shall acquire without payment the property of the Ottoman Empire consisting of immovable property which originally belonged to the Turkish Civil List but which had been transferred to the Turkish State in 1908 and 1909 in property constituting the Civil List for the benefit of any public service As regards Civil List property in territory transferred to Greece after the Balkan wars or subsequently such be referred to a mixed tribunal at The Hague

*Article* 61 relieves Turkey from responsibility in regard to the pensions of Turkish officials who have acquired non Turkish nationalities

By *article* 62 Turkey recognises the transfer to the Allied Powers of the debts of Germany and the allied or associated States and the Allied Powers agree to relieve Turkey from the debts in question

*Article* 63 provides for the release by Turkey of Germany from the obligation to accept Turkish notes at a stipulated rate of exchange after the war

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**E 11376 11376 44** No 86

*To Mr passed on of Kedleston to Mr Henderson (Constantinople)*

(No 335
Telegraphic R *Foreign Office November* 30 1923

Your UNS telegram No 573 repeated Cairo of 28th November Admission of Greeks into Turkey

I am about to leave you to decide whether and if so to what extent you can usefully intervene in this matter

(Repeated to Athens No 223)

[E 11304 7734 44] No 87

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to the Marquess of Crewe (No 1765, Paris, and to Sir R Graham (No 1023) Rome W Tilton (No 1787, Washington, and Sir C Elliot (No 455) Tokyo*

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November 30, 1923*

WITH reference to my despatch No 3685 of the 22nd instant relative to the question of the free states and place of residence of the Allied diplomatic representatives in Turkey I transmit to you herewith a copy of a further despatch from the Acting High Commissioner at Constantinople this subject.*

2 While His Majesty's Government are ready to admit that Ambassadors should be at any convenient place appointed to reside at Angora they consider that no decision should yet be taken in regard to the pressure which the Turks are evidently attempting to exert in regard to the question of the transfer of the Allied representatives with a view to their ultimate residence at Constantinople

3 As regards the question of the acceptance or otherwise of a site for the construction of a residence for a Chancery or other diplomatic officer at Angora His Majesty's Government are of opinion that no decision should be allowed to be presented to remain open for consideration

4 You are invited to communicate the above to the Government to which you are accredited for the views of His Majesty's Government

I am, &c
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

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E 11355 1019 65 No 88

*Foreign Office to Colonial Office*

Sir, *Foreign Office, December , 1923*

IN reply to your letter of the 27th November on the subject of the Mosul frontier regret it is I am directed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to state for the information of the Duke of Devonshire that, while fully recognising that a reasonable part of the Turkish Government's claim that the above participation of an Iraq representative at the forthcoming discussions would enable the Iraq Government to advocate the unfriendly feeling of the Angora Government towards King Feisal's Administration the Secretary of State is at the same time of opinion that the possible use for propaganda purposes by the British Chairman of Iraq Delegation would be counterbalanced by the great advantage which would accrue to the Iraq Government from the knowledge that the British Government had the full support of the Iraq Government in the event of the Turkish Government refusing to accept the decision of the Council of the League

2 I am therefore to suggest for the consideration of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that a satisfactory procedure would be for an Iraq representative to attend the meetings of the conference to examine the Mosul treaty as an expert, at any rate during the absence of the Turkish Government, and as has been the Secretary of State's experience that such expert advisers have, during recent conferences, acted in harmony with the delegates concerned, in that they have almost invariably been guided by instructions from the meetings with whom they were associated, this difficulty should be met by the Iraq representative's acting with the British delegates

I am, &c
LANCELOT OLIPHANT

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E 11475 8629 44] No 89

*Mr Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received December 3.)*

No. 772
My Lord, *Constantinople, November 24, 1923*

THE Ikdam which may be regarded as the official Kemalist newspaper in Constantinople published on the 20th instant an article on the question of Turkey's economic recovery. The article is noteworthy by reason of the position in the Turkish

* See No 77



and of the status of its author, Soubhi Nuri Bey, who is a strong partisan and one of the principal publicists of Mustafa Kemal as well as for its remarkable frankness and the accurate picture that it draws of the present unprofitable economic situation in Turkey

2 Soubhi Nuri Bey asks whether the nation or the Government is responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs and without attempting the same clearly attributes the latter. This criticism is of course in no way directed against Mustafa Kemal the object of any attempt at criticism is sought in the extension of the powers of the latter

3 The following is a summary of the article in question.

"The Turkish budget shows a deficit on an average for several years. Our revenues are small while our expenses are steadily increasing. Our revenue is still short for our needs. There is no gold in the country. The Ministry of Finance cannot supply the various Government Departments with credits. The Departments without credits cannot undertake no useful enterprises.

"Our farmers want advances in order to increase agricultural machinery. Our agreements with Russia that ports and railways shall be free, relations with foreign countries re-established, laws governing import and exports drawn up and that the Government should not create difficulties for them. Our manufacturers also desire facilities in order to build up industries.

"The Greeks and Armenians used to be the producers and traders in Turkey. They have gone and we have taken their place. Are we able to do it? Have Turks been able to take the place of the Christian traders of Smyrna and the Black Sea? What was the pre-war figure of our exports and what is it now? Have we the necessary capacity for business? Our trade is as clear as the day. Trade is stagnant, the peasant is in a state of misery and poverty and a large number of people are unemployed. Ten per cent. of our only cultivated. Our budget is now a deficit of from £T 50,000, to £T 4,000,000. If we cultivated 20 per cent of our land we could balance our budget.

"It is because we do not use the means of carrying on. The Turkish laws are old and defective. It is absolutely necessary for us to improve them. And we must much money to build factories, to buy machinery and to procure specialists. We cannot get this money in Turkey for there is none in the country.

We must make up our minds to have recourse to foreign capital and must decide upon the conditions which we are ready to accept. The terms to be undertaken with the money and the security to be offered. We must publicly abandon all programme, our needs, our conditions and our security to prove that we are worthy of trust, that we will pay our debts, and that we have a stable State and Government.

"But will our capital be ready to lend us money? The Treaty of Lausanne has not yet been ratified and no agreement has been reached between the bondholders and the Government in regard to the payment of the interest on Turkey's foreign debt. Before this latter question is resolved in a manner that is in conformity with the interests and rights of both parties, what foreign capitalists will send money to our country to cover private enterprises? In France capitalists can lend money at 6 per cent. In South America and Canada foreign capitalists can get 8 to 20 per cent., and, moreover the internal affairs of these countries are stable and they have excellent laws. If we go to foreign capitalists, what will be the first questions that they will ask us? Has Turkey finished with the war, internal strife and revolution? Is there peace and tranquillity in the country and has the era of war and revolt begun? Is the people's party strong? Is the Government solidly established in accordance with present-day necessities? Is the republic stable? Are our finances well settled? Is Turkish justice consistent? Are the Turkish laws good and in accordance with present day necessities? Are commerce and industry flourishing?

"What answer, says Soubhi Nuri Bey, somewhat pathetically "shall we give to such questions? If we, for our own countries, pay at most 2 per cent what would Turkey have to pay? It is easy to declare that we will or we will not have foreign capital, but we should do not be useful for us to know what foreign capital thinks of us.

"The better the credit of the State the smaller the rate of interest that has to be paid, and credit is only built upon facts. The sooner we adapt our laws, our government machinery, our mentality and our law courts to the exigencies of the

age the latter will be ... credit ... the easier it will be to find money. That is to say Turkish industry, commerce and agriculture will develop in proportion to the foreign capital which will be invested in them; in other words, if budget will balance Turkey ... such, ... so ... fertile and her people intelligent, honest and laborious. Turkey with a little effort could become a very rich and prosperous country. But ... is necessary that she should have good laws and that they should be ... high authority both at home and abroad.

I have &c.
NEVILLE HENDERSON

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E 11478 199 44] No. 22

*Mr. Henderson (Angora) to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Received December 2.)*

(No. 750.)

My Lord, *Angora, 30th November, 1923.*

AS I anticipated in my despatch No. 735 of the 23rd instant the return of Reouf Bey to Angora has been followed by developments which though so far inconclusive are likely to have an important bearing on the future course of events in Turkey.

2. The first of these developments was the publication on the 26th November in the Ikdam of a letter addressed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha to Ismet Pasha, in which the former, after briefly reviewing the history of the opposition party, declared that the principles of the opposition party, as expressed in the party programme published in the Hakimiet-i-Milliye of the 9th September, were identical with those of the People's party, and that the latter party would therefore welcome the return to the fold of Rauf Bey and his friends. Should, however, the opposition party refuse to accept the terms offered, the People's party would be compelled to regard it as a hostile organisation.

3. The publication of this letter was followed on the 27th November by the resignation of Rauf Bey and his colleagues from the Grand National Assembly. In their letter of resignation they declared that they had come to the conclusion that the People's party was not prepared to carry out the principles of the party programme, and that they could not therefore remain members of the Assembly. They also complained that the Government had failed to take adequate measures to protect the lives of members of the opposition party, and that the Government had failed to punish those responsible for the murder of Ali Shukri Bey, the opposition deputy for Trebizond, who was assassinated in that town on the 19th May last.

4. Rauf Bey's resignation was followed by the resignation of 28 other members of the opposition party, including Refet Pasha, Adnan Adivar, Kiazim Karabekir, Ali Fuad, Halid Edib, Hamdi Bey (Smyrna), Ahmed Bey (Konia), Hussein Bey (Kastamuni), Ali Bey (Sivas), Hussein Bey (Kirshehir), Ali Bey (Kutahia), Ali Bey (Karahissar), Ali Bey (Kirkagach), Ali Bey (Ismid), Ali Bey (Kirkagach), Ali Bey (Ismid), Ali Bey (Kirkagach), Ali Bey (Ismid

...erence to consolidate Mustafa Kemal's internal position they may be expected to lead to a very keen contest in the Grand National Assembly which will be purely constitutional in character, as the question of the same executive tendency in regard to foreign affairs will probably be accepted. Nevertheless, the existence of the same tendency as a proposal which has been put forward separately to establish a Socialist Party.

3. In Constantinople the great event of the week has been the arrival there on the 21st November, of a delegation from the Assembly at Angora headed by Refet Bey, which left again for Angora on the 24th November on its part in the celebrations of the first anniversary of the recovery of Constantinople from the Greeks. On the day of his arrival Refet Bey made a declaration to various journalists, which I enclose in Constantinople 783 appeared with numerous variants in the several Turkish papers. The enclosed version is taken from that published in the Tevhid-i-Efkiar. I will draw your Lordship's special attention to the passage dealing with the Caliphate which is particularly outspoken in character and that Mesopotamia, Smyrna and Turkey have nothing to do with the election of the Caliph. From the correspondence I possess a telegram No. 570 of the 23rd November. This appears to have been a speech of an hour and a half, but I do not think it was sufficiently important to warrant the translation of the whole of it. I would draw your Lordship's

brother of Sheikh Mahmoud's wife. He added that the individual's claim to sit in the Assembly had been disallowed.

4. The journalist who supplied this information is not a wholly trustworthy person, but, as he volunteered it in the course of a friendly conversation, I have no reason to suppose that on this occasion he was not speaking the truth. I should not wish the information to be used in any way which would enable Sheikh Mahmoud or the Turkish authorities to refer it to the journalist in question.

5. It occurs to me that the document described above may be the "Mahkhatah" mentioned at the beginning of paragraph 753 of the Baghdad Intelligence Report No. 21, dated the 1st November.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON

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(E 11485/1019/65) No. 92

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received December 3.*)

(No. 784.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, November 28, 1923.*

With reference to my despatch No. 685 of the 25th October, I have the honour to state that on the 20th November the Jeridei Ekbar newspaper gave prominence to a telegram from Angora to the effect that the Council of Ministers had discussed the Mosul question on the 16th November, that Ismid Bey, the Minister of the Interior, had described events which occurred at Mosul, and had urged the necessity of immediate action to end the situation arising out of them, that Ismet Pasha and Fethi had replied with explanations regarding Mosul from the point of view of the Peace Treaty, and that secrecy was being observed as to the conclusions arrived at. The Wakit published a very similar telegram, in which it was stated that all the Ministers had backed Ismid Bey, had urged the necessity for dealing with the situation.

2. A further rumour was that these reports were to the effect that Ismail Bey might be instructed to speak more on the subject. I gathered from a somewhat hurried interview with Nesim Bey, to whom I delivered your Lordship's observations on the *status quo* by the British Government, which I handed to him on the 26th November, that he had not mentioned the Mosul question to me in that conversation because he spoke vaguely and from my observing that he was prepared for it he began to scratch his head, which appeared several times, and I thought I pressed the subject.

3. No further press references have since been noted, but I shall report further should any further appear regarding the alleged meeting of the Council of Ministers at Angora. For two weeks the only reports published were to the effect that Mosul was the statement made by Fethi Bey in the statement which he gave to the Grand National Assembly. (See my despatch No. 775 of the 27th November.) Reports were then circulated to the effect that the relevant portion of that statement was not in the above form, but the versions hitherto given by the other papers do not differ much. Fethi Bey, according to the Ulem, spoke as follows:—

> The Mosul question still remains as left at Lausanne. No negotiations regarding it have yet taken place. Mosul is, of course, ours. The Turks constitute the huge majority of the population living there. Mosul is very naturally the right of Great Britain, and definitely Mosul will return to the mother country. We have not a shadow of doubt about it.

4. On the 27th November, just a week after the telegrams reported in paragraph 1 above, the Tanin, the Ulem, and the Jeridei Ekbar, both Opposition papers, published mutually contradictory telegrams from Angora. Both papers announced, also various Stefani organs, that the Grand National Assembly had on the 26th November formally approved the appointment of Yussuf Kemal Bey to London. The Tanin telegram regarding Mosul was as follows:—

> "Angora, November 26. Yussuf Kemal Bey, our representative in London, and Lieutenant-Colonel Tewfik Bey, military adviser at Lausanne, have been appointed plenipotentiary and military adviser respectively for the settlement of the Mosul question. No decision has been taken by the Council of Ministers regarding the reports concerning the interview of the British representative with Noradounghian Bey, delegate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Constantinople. No discussion on this question has taken place in the Council of Ministers."





The Tevhid telegram was as follows:—

> "Angora, November 26. The reports to the effect that Yussuf Kemal Bey, our representative in London, and that Lieutenant-Colonel Tewfik Bey, military adviser at the Lausanne Conference, have been appointed plenipotentiary and military adviser respectively for the settlement of the Mosul question, that the matter will be settled in London, and that Dr. Adnan Bey has made communications to this effect to the British representative are untrue. No discussion of the matter has yet taken place in the Council of Ministers, and no decision has been taken."

2. The form of the "Tevhid" telegram suggests that it was sent after that to the Tanin had been despatched in order to catch it up and serve as an official *démenti*. The reserve displayed by the Turkish Government itself is probably due to a wish on the one hand not to compromise His Majesty's Government by contesting the point that the negotiations were initiated by my note of the 5th October, and on the other hand to post some day real negotiators at Paris after the entry into force of the Lausanne Treaty.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON

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E 11522/7158/44 No. 93

*Sir G. Rose Hoare to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received December 3.*)

No. 32.
(Decypher.) *Vatican, Rome, December 3, 1923.*

My despatch No. 162 of 29th November.

His Eminence kindly consulted Cardinal Secretary of State. I have more to-day had my own interview. Proposed representation should refer to Palestine only, and should state that it is being addressed to His Majesty's Government on account of their duties and responsibilities under privileged position to be accorded to Holy Places. As Cardinal Secretary of State did not think moment opportune for statement that with subsequent speaking matter was now one with Holy See, I would suggest prompt action without reference to Rome.

I should be glad of instructions by telegraph.

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E 11521/8766/44 No. 94

*Mr. Bentinck to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received December 4.*)

(No. 579.)
(Telegraphic.) *Athens, December 3, 1923.*

ALBANIAN Minister at Paris has requested French Government to remind Greek Government of agreement concluded by M. Venizelos at Lausanne on 29th January that Albanian Mussulman inhabitants of Epirus would not be included in exchange of populations. Ismid Minister at Athens has been instructed to act in concert with Italian Minister in this.

I await instructions.

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E 11606/1019/65 No. 95

*Sir H. Rumbold to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received December 6.*)

(No. 820.)
(Decypher.) *Constantinople, December 6, 1923.*

YOUR despatch No. 1071 crossed my despatch No. 784. Your Lordship will see by latter that question of Yussuf Kemal being placed in charge of negotiations has been mentioned in Turkish press. While I do not believe Turkish Government desires to keep us in suspense, these reports make me think it probable that Yussuf Kemal will be instructed to broach question of scene of negotiations when

[illegible] Turkish and Turks have written in the request that they should take [illegible] Constantinople

Unless I hear from you [illegible] telegraph[illegible] as to time referred to Constantinople would suggest postponement of any formal communication to Soviet Government pending Russo-Greek rupture. Meanwhile Greek Cossacks, posted in Thrace committed outrages with Volunteer and sound [illegible] present intentions of Turks

I interpret your Turkish Government's acceptance of 5th October as [illegible] of period of negotiations. Their communication [illegible] though [illegible] and [illegible] other steps mentioned without what was very clearly stated [illegible] to be objective reached. If this is [illegible] your note [illegible] acceptance which I have already telegraphed. Nevertheless, if you agree to [illegible] charge on instant [illegible] of reference I am ready to get explanation as regards 5th October. Regarding [illegible] glad to learn that His Majesty's Government for their part [illegible] Turkish wish to refer question of reference [illegible] matter [illegible] of treaty to Great Britain

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[E 11553 10145 44] No. 96

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Henderson (Constantinople)*

(No. 337)
(Telegraphic) *Foreign Office, December 6, 1923*

YOUR telegram No. 320 of 16th November. Turkish Red Crescent Mission to Kurdistan

Observations of Turkish Government presented to Conference that Decrees granting Capitulations to Greece stipulated that valid only if Greece submitted [illegible] within [illegible] time. Decrees will be subject to approval of Government and [illegible] other nationalities [illegible] Greek [illegible] Conference [illegible] Powers not [illegible] Greek Government [illegible] to give their support with Mosul question [illegible]

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[E 11521 8766 44] No. 97

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Bentinck (Athens)*

No. 228)
(Telegraphic) R *Foreign Office, December 6, 1923*

YOUR Telegram No. 579 of 3rd December. Position of Refugees Moslems of Adalia [illegible] Exchange of Populations Convention

Supply of Nansen Loan is [illegible] to Greek Government for expenditure [illegible] Exchange of Populations Convention. His Majesty's Government doubt if Albanian [illegible] should be discussed [illegible] Conference. It appears [illegible] Allied Powers should [illegible] this question [illegible] Greek Government [illegible] treatment of Turks in Albania [illegible] Greek Government [illegible] Powers. His Majesty's Government have been [illegible]

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E 11610 7862 44] No. 98

*The Marquess of Crewe to Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Paris Embassy)*

(No. 1762)

HIS Majesty's Ambassador at Paris presents his compliments to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and has the honour to forward herewith copy of a note from the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs enclosing a Roumanian Government [illegible] Treaty of Peace with Turkey Final Repatriation Convention

*Paris, December [illegible], 1923*

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Enclosure 1 in No. 98

*Ministry for Foreign Affairs to British Embassy, Paris*

COMME suite à sa communication du 12 octobre 1923, le Ministère des Affaires étrangères a l'honneur de faire parvenir ci-joint à l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté britannique copie d'une note qui vient d'être adressée à la Légation de Roumanie à Paris pour l'informer de la signature, le 23 novembre dernier par l'Empire britannique, la France, l'Italie et le Japon de la convention et du protocole relatifs à l'évaluation et à la répartition des dommages subis en Turquie par leurs ressortissants.

Une copie de ces documents a été adressée directement à la Légation de Roumanie.

*Paris, le 5 décembre, 1923.*

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Enclosure 2 in No. 98

*M. Poincaré to Roumanian Minister, Paris*

M. le Ministre, *Paris, le 5 décembre 1923.*

MF référant aux explications que vous avez bien voulu me fournir le 12 novembre dernier au nom de votre Département au sujet de la répartition des indemnités pour dommages subis en Turquie par les ressortissants des Puissances Alliées, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que le gouvernement britannique vient de me faire connaître qu'il a signé avec les gouvernements français, italien et japonais, le 23 novembre courant, la convention et le protocole dont vous trouverez ci-joint le texte.

Le gouvernement royal de la Roumanie ayant exprimé à plusieurs reprises le désir de voir signer à Lausanne un arrangement de cette nature, j'ai l'honneur de vous communiquer le dossier ci-joint et de vous inviter à signer la convention et le protocole susvisés au nom de votre Gouvernement.

Agréez, &c.
R. POINCARÉ

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E 11643 52 44 No. 99

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received December 7)*

(No. 330)
(Telegraphic) R *Constantinople, December 7, 1923*

MY despatch No. 808, last paragraph.

Grigorios, Archbishop of Cadikeui, was elected Greek Patriarch yesterday. Government did not interfere beyond laying it down that only Turkish subjects exercising ecclesiastical functions in Turkey must participate as electors or candidates. Greek prelates seem to have shown some independence in their choice and did not desire Ethnikon to interfere. Turkish press generally is hostile to new Patriarch.

Despatch follows.

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[E 11522/7158 44] No. 100

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Sir G. Russell (Vatican)*

(No. 35)
(Telegraphic) *Foreign Office, December 7, 1923*

YOUR telegram No. 32 of 3rd December. French scheme to protectorate over Catholics in Near East.

You should address immediate representation to Cardinal Secretary of State in sense suggested in your despatch No. 162 of 29th November, as modified in your reverse cipher telegram explaining that Palestine mandate having now come into

force His Majesty's Government cannot admit that liturgical honours or any privileged position should be accorded to the representative of a foreign Power, and that they therefore request that the Catholic authorities in Palestine may be advised that the French representative is no longer entitled to any privileged position or liturgical honours at Catholic services

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[E 11650 1019 65] No. 101

*Sir H. Dobbs to the Secretary of State for the Colonies* (*Communicated to Foreign Office December 8*)

(No. 675)
(Telegraphic) P *December 5, 1923*

WAY in which recent Turkish Government decrees appear to be framed to further British propaganda is not a submission by me. It would, on the contrary, be seen that His Majesty's Government has done their best to support the good faith of the Turkish State to the full and Turkey's refusal to recognise his right would not be used to justify any form of aggression against Turkey on the other hand a refusal by His Majesty's Government to appoint a Turkish Consul might be friendly represented. It would be unfortunate if at the present moment, when attempts are being made to establish an impression that relations between Turkey and Europe are easy and ghastly disadvantages of isolation to the Government of Turkey are most

This refers to your telegram No. 564 of the 4th December

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E 11667 52 44 No. 102

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received December 8*)

(No. 538)
(Telegraphic) *Constantinople, December 7, 1923*

MY telegram No. 530

Proclamation [illegible] by armed body of Lazes occupied Patriarchate this morning, expelled entire Holy Synod, Archbishop Nicon being slightly ill-treated in scuffle which took place

Turkish police as usual refused to interfere; what they described as dispute of a private character

Holy Synod is applying to Governor General for protection but being Friday cannot possibly get into contact with him

Repeated to Athens No. 132)

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E 11659 8766 44 No. 103

*Mr. Beaumont to British Consul-General, Rhodes* (*Repeated to Foreign Office* (No. 584) *December 8*)

No. 159
(Telegraphic) *Athens, December 7, 1923*

I LEARN that Italians are taking great interest in Mr. Mosconisi's proposed scheme to settle Greeks from Pontus. As these people come originally from Pontus Italians now claim that they are Italian subjects

Have you any information?

(Repeated to Rome, No. 223

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[E 11648/8766 44] No. 104

*Mr. Beaumont to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received December 8*)

(No. 584 Secret)
(Telegraphic) R *Athens, December 7, 1923*

MY telegram No. 548

Turks on Mixed Commission to-day threatened expulsion of Greeks from Constantinople on account of conditions in Macedonia

Commission are greatly worried

(Repeated to Constantinople, No. 195)

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E 11669 7781 44] No. 105

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received December 8*)

(No. 534)
(Telegraphic) *Constantinople, December 8, 1923*

SENIOR Naval Officer here has received instructions from Admiralty that British warships should leave Constantinople and return as soon as possible to Malta, after consulting with me as to suitable date

In view of Mr. Oliphant's letter of 26th November stating that your Lordship approved of withdrawal before 31st December I am notifying Turkish authorities and my French, Italian and American colleagues that for reasons connected with naval arrangements destroyer will leave 13th December and light cruiser 15th December

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[E 11581 7781 44 No. 106

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Henderson* (*Constantinople*)

(No. 340)
(Telegraphic) *Foreign Office, December 8, 1923*

YOUR private letter of 13th November to Oliphant. Withdrawal of Allied warships from Turkish waters.

Admiralty have instructed Commander-in-Chief Mediterranean to arrange for withdrawal of His Majesty's ships from Turkish waters as soon as possible

French and Italian Governments are being informed

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[E 11715/7899 44] No. 107

*Mr. Chilton to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston* (*Received December 10*)

(No. 1483)
My Lord, *Washington, November 30, 1923*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a hard fight is expected in the Senate when the Lausanne Treaty comes up for ratification at the forthcoming session of Congress. The Opposition is led by Mr. James W. Gerard, formerly United States Ambassador at Berlin and now chairman of the American Committee for the Independence of Armenia, who has many prominent men behind him, including Mr. Oscar S. Straus, formerly Ambassador at Constantinople. A memorandum, signed by 100 statesmen, high army officers, financiers and others, has been prepared for presentation to President Coolidge and Mr. Hughes

'It is morally an indefensible treaty,' it runs. 'It is an utterly ruminating and purposeless treaty. It surrenders every American right in Turkey. It renders impossible the continuance of American educational and philanthropic enterprises in that country. It ignores our solemn pledge to Armenia. The economic concessions it purports to secure for a few Americans are now admitted to be of dubious value and have already been transferred into alien hands.

The Turks have broken thus early their promises of good behaviour and their guarantees to our missionaries and to the remnants of Christians in

Turkey. All reports which have recently reached the outside world from Turkish and foreign sources show that factional armed conflicts, wide spread banditry and hopeless economic chaos seriously threaten Kemal's régime and that the task which confronts this Government is, according to the admission of Italian leaders, a truly impossible one.

America stands to gain absolutely nothing by resuming relations with Turkey in this state of affairs. We can lose nothing further by maintaining the *status quo* while awaiting developments. The downfall of the Kemalists appears inevitable and imminent. But we surrendering our rights to Kemal we shall find it difficult to reassert them over whatever régime which may overthrow and succeed him.

We believe that the honour of America no less than every dictate of reason commands that the Senate reject the Lausanne Treaty."

The treaty is attacked on seven points:

"Our nationals in Turkey are to be deprived of the protection of the American consular courts—a prerogative they have enjoyed since 1832—and made subject to the notoriously corrupt Turkish police and courts.

"Our missionary institutions in Turkey are to be likewise subject to Turkish laws. The question of indemnity for damages suffered by Americans through arbitrary and illegal acts is left for later discussion. Our merchant vessels may, as in the past, pass through the Dardanelles which however may be closed at the will of the Turks as was done in 1914.

"Our archæologists enjoy the same rights that are enjoyed by Turkish archæologists. This only requires the comment that there never have been any Turkish archæologists.

"The open door: we resume our former privilege to trade with and invest in Turkey. The importance of that privilege may be gauged by the fact that in 1913 when Turkey's estimated population was 17,500,000 American exports to Turkey were only about $7,000,000.

"Turkey now is only about 5,000,000.

"Protected minorities are to enjoy the protection of Turkish laws as in the past. Since 1774 Turkey has solemnly agreed in twenty-one international documents to protect the Christians."

Later the document says:—

"If as appears the Chester Concession was the inducement leading to the transfer of American rights and the abandonment of Armenia then in the light of the full knowledge of the illusory nature of this concession no longer even to American minds the only plausible argument in favour of the Lausanne Treaty becomes untenable.

"The effect of this memorandum however will undoubtedly be lessened by the following statement issued by Dr. James L. Barton, secretary of the American Board of Missionaries, chairman of the Near East Relief and representative at Lausanne of American religious, educational and philanthropic organisations:

"Turkey would lose at Lausanne by secession from the Allies and the United States treaties which did not contain by any means all that by right she should have been given. These treaties, and especially the one with America, secure all that could have been secured under the circumstances. The question is shall this treaty be ratified or shall it be rejected?

"If ratification were to endorse the crimes against humanity of the present Turkish Government and its predecessors rejection must follow. But after the rejected delegations at Lausanne of the spokesmen for the United States of the atrocities and slaughter of the Armenians committed against her subjects by the Turkish officials, even by the Government, there can remain no doubt upon this point.

"The treaty is meagre and incomplete but if we reject it there will remain no basis for future negotiations while by accepting it the way will be open for further negotiations upon points not now included.

"While American institutions are not named in the treaty, diplomatic correspondence outside the treaty already provides for their continuance. There is much reason for believing that the rejection of the treaty by the Senate would lead to the closing of all American institutions in Turkey, religious, educational, philanthropic and commercial, and would close the door to future negotiations.





"The ratification of the treaty would make possible the continuation in the country of established American interests. While our treaty does not cover the protection of minority populations, the presence of American institutions cannot fail to serve them in many ways.

"Turkey has been admitted into the sisterhood of nations by the Allied treaties. America can hardly afford to withdraw now its influence from that country in which its interests, humanitarian and otherwise, are dominant.

"I am convinced that we can best serve the minority races of the Near East and the Near East itself by keeping open diplomatic relations with Turkey in order to urge the present Government in the best interests of all.

"Therefore I prefer the ratification of the treaty and the setting up in Turkey an embassy which, with our full strength, can continue negotiations and help Turkey to some satisfactory solution that will be tempered by justice and mercy."

The Department of State believes that if the entire memorandum were read during the Senate debate that Mr. Barton's appeal will have its momentum and the treaty will be ratified by a very close struggle.

Mr. Barton's appeal will have its momentum and the

I have &c.,

H. G. CHILTON.

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**E 11692/199/44** No. 98

*Mr. Heath-Caldwell to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received December 1.*)

(No. 518.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 1, 1923.*

In my despatch No. 470 of the 27th ultimo, I dealt at some length with the debate in the Turkish Chamber on the 22nd November between Ismet Bey and the deputies. The report of the debate was published on the 27th November, and was published again on the 28th or 29th November. As appeared in the "Tanin" newspaper it occupied no less than forty-nine pages, but it has long since ceased to be of any interest to the general public, and I do not propose to trouble your Lordship with a detailed account of it. The debate was, on the whole, characterised by a remarkably dignified moderation, although, of course, the opposition members were subjected to the abuse alleged to be usual in Turkish parliamentary circles. Certain charges against persons not present were made only by some of Ismet Pasha's supporters, and these were directed against persons in the Ankara circle. Such references as were made to Mustafa Kemal were couched in terms of almost fulsome adulation. The actual personality of the Caliph was not brought into discussion at all, and only some slight guarded reference was made to what would appear to be a feeling of that office. Several members of the opposition, including the only Labour speaker, criticised the Government for the removal of the Friday Selamlik as a step calculated to offend the religious feelings of the people, and one speaker even alleged that the removal was due to the pressure of the Foreign Powers. Powers were represented as using their influence on Turkey's internal affairs. I recently had occasion to point out that Mr. Lloyd George's post-election speech in the House of Commons was cited as a proof that the Entente Powers were not to be given a free hand in Turkish internal affairs.

2. Of the one or two resolutions which were connected with the debate, the most important was that moved by Hamdi Bey, a Deputy for Trebizond, and Ahmed Tewfik Bey, a Deputy for Erzerum. Both these gentlemen professed themselves anxious to put an end to the present uncertainty as to the future of Mosul, which, as your Lordship is aware, is at present under the administration of the British Government of Iraq. Hamdi Bey's proposal was that the Government should immediately secure the withdrawal of British troops from Mosul, and Ahmed Tewfik Bey's that the Government should take steps to secure the withdrawal of British troops from Mosul by the 1st March next. In the course of a long speech in which he sent up a series of trial balloons, Ismet Pasha made it perfectly clear that he was not prepared to take any steps which would result in the loss of Mosul. He pointed out that the Turkish Government had already made considerable concessions in order to secure the withdrawal of British troops from Mosul, and that it was now for the British Government to make the next move. He declared that he was willing to enter into negotiations with Great Britain for the settlement of the Mosul question, but that he was not prepared to discuss the matter in the Chamber. He pointed out that the Mosul question was one which affected not only Turkey but also Great Britain, and that it was necessary to secure the agreement of both countries before any steps could be taken. He concluded by saying that he was willing to enter into negotiations with Great Britain for the settlement of the Mosul question, but that he was not prepared to discuss the matter in the Chamber.

3. The Government have come out of the whole episode very well indeed. They have shown that they are prepared to struggle with all their energy and that they are not to be trifled with. They have shown that they are prepared to struggle with all their energy and that they are not to be trifled with.

new constitutional proposals. The draft law mentioned in my despatch No. 775 of the 17th ult. was ruled out by the Committee of Drafts of the Grand National Assembly, but the Assembly itself on the 1st December accepted the proposal of Yunus Nadi Bey, a strong Kemalist, overruling the Committee on Drafts and referring the draft law to the Constitutional Committee, where it is expected to give rise to lively discussions and after the 5th December. The opposition is for the moment associated with the name of Ismail Djanbolat Bey one of the Vice-Presidents of the Committee of Union and Progress, but all the other sections of the heterogeneous opposition to Mustafa Kemal Ismet Pasha are doubtless sharpening their swords. It will not be so easy in these coming debates as it was at the party meeting to evade what are considered vital issues such as the proposals that the President of the Republic should have the right to refer legislation back to the Assembly and to dissolve the Assembly and that the Assembly should sit for a limited period each year instead of in permanence as heretofore.

4. The discussion of these constitutional questions may well decide the fate of Ismet Pasha's Government. For the first time Mustafa Kemal himself. The Government is already encountering difficulties over certain matters connected with the Tobacco Regie and the Anatolian Railway. A strong movement in favour of the suppression of the Tobacco Regie is being organised by the Opposition. Ismet Pasha's lobbies are doubtless impressed not only by the difficulty of substituting another system for that of the Regie monopoly, but also by the danger of trouble with the French. Anxiety is also shown over all proposals for the suppression of the Regie before the Assembly. Ismet Pasha's policy of seeking a fresh agreement with the present Anatolian Railway Company, represented by the Managing Director, M. Huguenin, is being strongly opposed in the Grand National Assembly, and there was a request for the resignation of the Minister of Finance and Public Works as a result of that discussion.

5. Mustafa Kemal's own position is less secure than it was a month ago. He may suffer from the set-backs which, as years advance, tend to lessen the energy and resolution of even the strongest men, and I should not be surprised to see him take advantage of the growing discontent and the opposition to propose a compromise of some kind on the constitutional discussions. Whatever the real reason may be, it is much to the credit of his energy that he has succeeded in the short space of [illegible] in consolidating the Turkish position in Anatolia to the extent which, as I reported in my despatch No. 1,109 of the 23rd ultimo, has induced the Allies to withdraw their troops from Constantinople and Ismid. It is also largely owing to his personality that the Turks have been able to withstand the pressure of the Allies and to maintain their attitude in the Straits question, which, as your Lordship is aware, is still unsettled.*

6. The Government of the Grand National Assembly is still in its infancy, and its success will depend on the ability with which Mustafa Kemal as the saviour of his country, can wield the control of the heterogeneous elements which compose the Nationalist Party, established as a provisional Government at Angora in the North-West corner of Asia Minor, and which has now to be converted into a permanent Government for Turkey in the South-West. Its own communications are still very difficult, even to the coast, where the Greek occupation of the railways, even to Eski-Shehr, is a great hindrance to the movement of troops and supplies.

7. Although Mustafa Kemal's position is not yet built on a secure foundation, it is growing stronger. From the secret session of the Grand National Assembly held on the 4th December it appears that the Budget of the Republic for the present year is to provide a salary of £T 10,000 a month for the President, a representation allowance of £T 7,000 a month, the equivalent of £T 5,000 a month for the Prime Minister, and a salary of £T 1,000 a month for the Ministers, besides the usual Presidential and Ministerial allowances for travelling, &c. Judged by Turkish standards, these salaries are princely, and the representation allowances are particularly high. Angora life is so primitive and water is only obtainable at public fountains, except on special occasions. According to telegraphic reports one Deputy suggested that Mustafa Kemal personally should receive £T 10,000 a month for his, but the actual salary of the President is fixed at £T 1,000. The Assembly, however voted the proposals submitted to it by a majority of 241 to 5. Concurrently with these arrangements, measures are on foot to levy a tax on the Caza's (district) water from State funds, which according to the latest report is proposed to reduce as low as £T 10,000 a month.

8. One of the most notable, and in many ways satisfactory, features of the present situation is the unabated perseverance of the Turkish Government in their assertion of the claims of the Great Powers, especially Great Britain. Constantinople hears as often it appears in the press. The "Ileri," the principal Kemalist organ, has a habit of publishing articles of anti-British type. Fresh threats, and signs of trouble, are being [illegible]

* Not printed



[illegible] any of the Western Powers, least of all Great Britain, though Anti-Turkish feeling in the United States of America is also exciting a good deal of apprehension.

9. Numerous measures which have been agitating public opinion here have contributed to the present still unsettled state of affairs. The [illegible] of the preparations of the Angora Government to establish a new Caliphate, the Turkish press campaign clamouring against the patriarchate as a political institution, the Government's ostensibly lukewarm attitude, and evidence of a desire to control the election of Mgr. Cyril Metropolitan of Imbros as successor to Mateos and the various Papas Effendis has just returned from Angora to Constantinople presumably in order to bully the Greeks once again.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON

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E 11695 8766 44] No. 103

*Mr. Heathcote Smith to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (Received December 1.)

(No. 1.)

His Majesty's representative at Constantinople presents his compliments to His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and has the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch from His Majesty's Consul-General at Smyrna respecting [illegible] there.

*Constantinople, December 1, 1922.*

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Inclosure in No. 103.

*Consul-General Lamont to Mr. Heathcote Smith.*

No. 1. Smyrna, November 28, 1922.

SIR, I HAVE the honour to report that during the last month or two Greek authorities have been engaged in Asia Minor in collecting Armenians who were returned as stragglers in the interior from the districts of Ouchak, Afium Kara-hissar, Konia, &c. Of these Armenians many have already been sent to Greece and 50,000 are returned to be despatched. Only a few of those who have been arrested have been released, many in Turkey. Most of the Greek prisoners, poor things, have been sent to Greece and only too many have taken refuge in Allied territory, as the Turks have given permission for the departure of Armenians, but the Turks have allowed Greeks to reach the coast at Mersina only by land, as they fear that if they were to depart in case of a general war should happen. This precaution is felt by the Turkish authorities to be necessary, for if a vessel were to reach Mersina from Greece with Greek refugees on board, she would not be allowed to depart by the general amnesty whereby this precaution is proclaimed.

2. These Armenians have been employed in labour battalions, composed mainly of Greeks. The Armenians are of all classes, from the richest to the poorest peasants. They have been employed on all kinds of work without much regard to their status. There have been some notable exceptions, and I note Greeks and rich Armenians in Magnesia employed in agricultural work. Others are reported to be living in different places in the interior, including Angora, where 4,000 of them are said to have been employed in attempts to make public buildings and a railway extension towards Sivas.

3. Now the Greeks who have survived the privations of the last fourteen months, are being collected with a view to exchange. Several thousand are already here. From the zone between Smyrna and Afium-Kara Hissar it is estimated that 10,000 Greeks will be forthcoming. They are all men. The women and children have already left or disappeared.

4. The problem of dealing with the Moslems received from Greece is giving the Turkish authorities a degree of anxiety which it is easy to understand. A certain official at Afium Kara Hissar Pasha is the governor of that area as established there, with a staff as usual representative of the organisation for the exchange of populations. The Moslems from Mityene were reported to have been sent to Vrysa last month, and

sion of agents from Constantinople have arrived here. The authorities endeavour to send boats upon their arrival to carry as many of them as possible to Angora, but the refugees were in great need and lodging with seed and agricultural implements will carry out with success a scheme for the reconstructive energy that exists at present in all the new peasants are expected to suffer enormous hardships this winter, but it is to be feared that it will go hard with the immigrants, whose efforts to adapt themselves to the conditions of the wretched villages assigned to them are necessarily attended by much misery. The American Near East Relief alleviates that by feeding 100,000 refugees in Asia Minor, will continue in Turkey from Greece, and the 150,000 persons in the district round Smyrna. The Adjutant-General was himself a sufferer because he wished to attend to the needs of that total of 150,000 Moslems who died in Turkey, 400,000 in Greece, 200,000 Greek refugees, and 20,000 in the Vilayet of Smyrna.

3. The reasons for the losses are clear. They were largely due to the refusal of Smyrna Greek merchants, on the contrary, to sell their goods for Turkish money, and from the refusal of Turkish buyers to purchase goods for anything but Turkish money. Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them. Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them. Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them.

4. The Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them. Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them. Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them.

5. The Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them. Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them. Greek merchants were not allowed to export their goods, and Turkish buyers were not allowed to import them.

I have, &c.
W. S. EDMONDS

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**E 11697 8133 44** No. 1

*Memorandum by the Press Censorship Bureau* (Received December 6)

(Not seen)

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a memorandum which I have received from the Press Censorship Bureau, and which will be of interest to your Lordship, dealing with the Greek Minister of Finance, who has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora.

2. The Minister of Finance, Mr. [illegible], has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora.

3. The Minister of Finance, Mr. [illegible], has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora.

4. The Minister of Finance, Mr. [illegible], has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora.

5. The Minister of Finance, Mr. [illegible], has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora. He has been in charge of the negotiations with Angora.



Powers to ratify. In this respect the Turkish Government would appear to be at cross-purposes with the French Government, which, as is evident from M. Mussolini's instructions to M. Moussa, is laying its negotiations with the Angora authorities representative to the Government at Angora on the subject of the debt. It would not be unreasonable to think that the French Government favours a *démarche* of that nature at this moment, on the eve of the debate in the Chamber of Deputies on the Treaty of Lausanne, both for parliamentary reasons as an answer to the opponents of the treaty and as a threat to the Turks that the French nation may even be withheld until a solution is reached in regard to a question in which the French public is so largely interested.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON

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Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

*Procès verbal de la Séance privée tenue par le Conseil d'Administration de la Dette publique ottomane le Lundi 3 Décembre* 1923

Présents

Sir Adam Block, K.C.M.G. *Président*
M. le des Closières.
M. A. Nogara.
Son Excellence Mehmed Djavid Bey.

M. le PRÉSIDENT rappelle à ses collègues que la loi du 3 Août 1923 a été votée avec un assentiment, tenue une première séance après le départ de Djavid Bey, Commissaire du Gouvernement auprès de la Dette publique, aux fins de savoir par l'Administration centrale par quelle procédure on entend la direction des services et pouvoirs et rentrer en possession des revenus actuellement affectés en garantie, soit à Constantinople.

Cette démarche étant restée sans réponse, Sir Adam Block avait décidé de renouveler en allant prendre le télégramme suivant son Excellence Djavid Bey représentant diplomatique du Gouvernement turc à Constantinople, qui a posé de nouveau les deux questions en litige, en le priant de vouloir bien lui faire connaître les intentions de son Gouvernement relativement à la reprise d'ouverture des négociations à engager avec les porteurs pour le mode de règlement des coupons.

Cette seconde intervention était également restée sans réponse, M. le Président savait l'occasion que lui offrait le récent passage à Constantinople de son Excellence Hassan Fehmi Bey, Commissaire aux affaires économiques, pour aller s'enquérir personnellement auprès de lui des vues et dispositions relevant du règlement des questions litigieuses en suspens entre le Gouvernement de Angora et les Alliés.

Au cours de son entretien avec le Ministre Sir Adam Block a pu constater que le Gouvernement de Angora désirait répondre aux questions suivantes, qu'il se permettait de lui poser en sa qualité de Président du Conseil de la Dette et qui avaient été déjà catégoriquement exposées par ses délégués à Lausanne :

> Quand le Gouvernement turc entend-il restituer au Conseil de la Dette la gestion des revenus affectés aux porteurs ?
>
> Quand l'Administration compte-t-elle entrer en négociations avec les porteurs en vue de la reprise du service de l'Emprunt et des Bons turcs ?

Comme il ressort du compte rendu établi de cet entretien, dont le texte, communiqué par M. le Président à ses collègues, figure en annexe au présent procès-verbal, les déclarations faites par son Excellence le Ministre en réponse à ces deux questions, sont l'un et l'autre satisfaisantes.

Sur la première question, qui concerne le rétablissement du conseil dans la plénitude de ses droits et attributions qui lui sont conférés par le décret de Moharrem, son Excellence Hassan Fehmi Bey a déclaré que toute décision sur ce point restait subordonnée à la ratification du traité aux résultats définitifs des travaux de répartition de la dette turque, et enfin, à l'issue des négociations avec les porteurs au sujet du mode de règlement de la dette restant à la charge de la Turquie.

En ce qui concerne, d'autre part, la reprise du service de l'Emprunt et des Bons turcs, son Excellence Hassan Fehmi Bey a subordonné en premier lieu la ratifi-

ton, par les ti[illegible] alliés. [illegible] Traité de Lausanne et en second lieu, aux ressources définitives [illegible] les travaux [illegible] répartition de la Dette ottomane.

M. Ismet attire [illegible] très sérieuse attention du Conseil sur la gravité [illegible] les retards de son Excellence la Commissaire aux Finances qui laissent subsister toutes les difficultés pendantes entre le Gouvernement et l'Administration en aggravant de ce fait le préjudice [illegible] consécutif déjà aux porteurs, et qui [illegible] en quelque sorte [illegible] une [illegible] les obligations imposées au Gouvernement par les décrets de Mudanieh et [illegible].

Le Conseil s'[illegible] [illegible] d'avoir à constater la situation regrettable qui résulte pour [illegible] [illegible] porteurs de ces [illegible] de son Excellence Hassan Fehmi Bey, décide de la signaler d'urgence aux trois syndicats en leur adressant, à cette fin, copies du présent procès-verbal et de son annexe.

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## Enclosure 2 in No. 110

*Compte rendu de la visite faite par Sir Vaux Beck, Président du Conseil de la Dette publique ottomane à son Excellence Hassan Fehmi Bey Commissaire aux Finances de la République turque, le 5 Novembre 1923*

[illegible] rendu, à la date du 5 novembre 1923, à son Excellence Hassan Fehmi Bey Commissaire aux Finances de la République de Turquie actuellement de passage à Constantinople.

Après les présentations, j'ai ouvert l'entretien en rappelant au Ministre les démarches déjà effectuées par notre Président Son Excellence Zekai Bey auprès du Gouvernement près l'Administration de la Dette et auprès de son excellence Adnan Bey représentant à Londres du Gouvernement d'Angora, et j'ai constaté par-là, en vue d'attirer son attention sur la situation anormale dans laquelle se trouvait placé le Conseil de la Dette, le fait de la mainmise du Gouvernement d'Angora sur [illegible] agences d'Anatolie, comme de la perte totale [illegible] de ses revenus en province et de celui, en sus taxe douanière à Constantinople.

J'ai rappelé, au cours de nos entretiens avec ces personnages, le désir exprimé de voir l'être procédé immédiatement à une [illegible] approximative à laquelle l'Administration pourrait représenter [illegible] la direction de ses services provinciaux et [illegible] possession des revenus dont elle était actuellement privée soit en province, soit à Constantinople.

Je relevai le fait que le Gouvernement d'Angora avait jusqu'à présent laissé cette question sans réponse, et fis remarquer au Ministre que cette situation anormale [illegible] [illegible] à Paris, à Londres et à Rome [illegible] [illegible] créanciers, [illegible] que [illegible] pour [illegible] [illegible] à propos [illegible] à Londres et à Paris, essentiellement ayant pour but la défense des intérêts des porteurs de l'Emprunt et des [illegible].

J'ai [illegible] ensuite les principes [illegible] par le Gouvernement turc [illegible], à savoir entre autres celles :

1. La [illegible] apporter, sans le consentement du Conseil de la Dette à la loi sur les spiritueux [illegible] ayant entraîné une perte de £T 1,000,000 pour notre Administration et de £T 3,000,000 pour le Trésor.
2. La prise de possession par le Gouvernement de nos services [illegible] [illegible] directeur de la Dette publique à Angora, [illegible] exploitation directe aux lieu et place de notre Conseil et le remplacement [illegible] [illegible] par notre Administration centrale après cette saisie.
3. La [illegible] de l'accord entre le Régie [illegible] et la Société de la Régie des Tabacs, sans consultation préalable avec le Conseil qui est cependant le concessionnaire du revenu des tabacs et le principal intéressé dans l'exploitation de ce revenu.
4. La suspension du versement à notre Administration des recettes de la surtaxe douanière.
5. Le fait que les traites sur la douane, assignées en compensation de certains revenus n'ont pas été remises par le Gouvernement à notre Conseil.

J'ai déclaré à son Excellence Hassan Fehmi Bey que le moment me paraissant venu, de mettre fin à ces atermoiements et n'étant pas habilité à discuter à ce propos les déclarations faites à maintes reprises soit à Lausanne par les plénipotentiaires du Gouvernement turc, soit à Constantinople par les représentants de ce Gouvernement,





et d'après les [illegible] [illegible] de la signature de la paix, être traité dans l'exercice de ses [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Vasa [illegible] [illegible] à [illegible] remarquer qu'il existait [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] d'Angora [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Son Excellence Hussein Fehmi Bey a reçu par cet assujettissement l'Interprétariat pour les affaires bon vous serait agréable de prendre les contrats de correction.

Il me reste à vous exprimer tous les regrets [illegible] accorder sur cette question, je me [illegible] Décret de Mudharet [illegible] pour [illegible] pétitionnaires [illegible] pétitionnaires [illegible] pétitionnaires

election to ascertain as [illegible] Lausanne [illegible] by M P Pallis, the news-
agent [illegible] Greek [illegible] at Angora expressed the opinion that the new
Patriarch [illegible] to the [illegible] and [illegible] Congress which
might [illegible] or [illegible] these [illegible] [illegible] Patriarchate
[illegible] at Angora until [illegible] the Swedish [illegible]
[illegible] all the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] converted the
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] from the Archbishop Lacovos's
[illegible] were [illegible] at the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and Ethnos's Greek
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[E 12050 199 44] No. 116

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Henderson (Constantinople)*

No. 848.)
(Telegraphic) R. *Foreign Office, December 21, 1923*

FROM press reports Mr. Ryan has recently been subjected to vituperative attacks in Turkish press and I observe that he was connected with the Aga Khan's letter. You should address strong remonstrance to Angora, pointing out that such conduct of distinguished member of His Majesty's mission is intolerable and is secretly most unfriendly effect on His Majesty's Government who, whether they approve or disapprove of the Aga Khan's action in unfortunate present conjuncture of the two countries.

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E 12071 199 44 No. 117

*Mr. Henderson (Constantinople) to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received December 23.)*

(No. 842.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December 23, 1923.*

YOUR telegram No. 848.

I have already spoken to Adjutant-Général to address attacks on Mr. Ryan and whether or not he thinks that ethical Turkish circles may be induced to dissociate themselves in any way from independent attitude which has steered no safer what I do not know. I also suggest you should press that he should be replaced by better type of Turkish official. See my despatch No. 827.

In the circumstances I feel strongly, as does Mr. Lamb, that we cannot be too careful to avoid all appearance of any attempt to influence in any direction the Turkish Government, which is already profoundly irritated by recent events. Any such attempt would be resented by Turkish Government as an attempt to intimidate them and would be the surest way to get rid of Mr. Ryan.

I trust there may be no question of a settlement which would be regarded by Turkish Government as a victory over them by the Powers.

I am reporting more fully by letter as regards the campaign against Mr. Ryan.

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E 12077 7158 44] No. 118

*Sir G. Russell to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston (Received December 24.)*

(No. 36.)
(Telegraphic.) *Therapia, December 24, 1923.*

MY telegram No. 34.

After practically all the French Ambassador on the occasion of his first interview with the Grand Secretary of State protested most strongly against the lawless, outrageous, and insulting character of the postponement of the trial of the journalists.

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E 12135 199 44] No. 119

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston – (Received December 27.)*

(No. 848.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, December 15, 1923.*

SINCE the late of my despatch No. 827 of the 1st December the proceedings of the Court of Independence (spatch from Angora) have almost monopolised public attention here. Immediately after the first sitting of the Court the journalists arrested were charged with the publication of the Aga Khan's Ameer Al-Hadj letter, and on the 13th December by hearing the accusation only of the Bursa Bey's letter of the



"Tanin" who had published that morning an article assuming responsibility for the publication of the letter but also of two persons of a different kind, namely, Jevdet Fikri Bey, a well-known lawyer, publicist and politician, and Hakemi Bey, second military aide-de-camp to the Caliph.

Jevdet Fikri Bey has been in recent years leader of the Turkish Bar at Constantinople, and is long-term well-known, if not very effective figure in Turkish public life. Over a month ago he took a leading part in the Caliphate controversy, and had the courage to risk most of the opposition who resented his service to the republic to proclaim itself as advocate of the principle of constitutional monarchy. This was a sufficient reason for his arrest. For reasons for the arrest of Hakemi Bey were more obscure, and have not yet been disclosed. He is a young officer of Turkish education and a Turkish gentleman. A person of known character, acquainted with English, he has made himself conspicuous by frequenting the society of British naval officers, and by talking rather freely of general subjects. These facts combined with his presence at the Caliph's person, may well have excited grave suspicion.

The public hearing of the case against the journalists began on the 11th December with the examination of witnesses for the prosecution. The responsible manager of the Ikdam, Ahmed Bekir Bey, and the owner of the Vakit, Ahmed Emin Bey, the responsible manager of the Sabah and Jevdet Bey, editor of the Vakit, were formally charged by the Public Prosecutor under the law of treason with having published the Aga Khan's Ameer Al-Hadj letter referred to in the despatch under Hakki Pasha, and that the letter constituted an attempt by the leaders of the 1st November, 1922, the occasion of the Grand National Assembly and during the Sultanate, which, if there was time strictly examined the charges to all defendants made their explanations, they have all the knowledge of the whole case, they having regard to the nature, they have to state the latter authority to act. All agree in stating, in which I read their intention, they were to ignore the Aga Khan's Ameer Al-Hadj letter. Mr. Ryan's part in the publication of the letter was of great public interest, and I gave instructions that by publishing it we should not only record its action, but also point out how long it had been the practice to affix responsible names to articles criticising the Government, and how unfair it was to the Ankara authorities to single out Mr. Ryan for attack.

The trial was resumed on the 18th December, when a large number of journalists were called as witnesses and examined as to what they had seen of the letter was as well as to what had been done with it. What those who had not received it had read in the newspapers, what they might have received it and what they had not received it, and what they had not received it, and what they had not received it,

suggesting in his paper, the "Yeni Gün," that the court should be invested with extraordinary powers. The Government were much alarmed at the steps taken by the Assembly to extend the jurisdiction of the courts and to endanger the internal and external security of the State, plots and espionage as well as acts contrary to the law of treason. The Opposition denied that it had committed itself to treason alone. The question was put to the vote without debate and by a majority, after a debate part of which was conducted in secret, the proposal was carried by 293 votes to 154 votes against.

7. The immediate effect of this vote was to take advantage of the recent arrest of the supporters of Ismail Djem, whose plotting is known in European circles, who had previously been accused of treason as well as of complicity in the murder of Public Prosecutor Ali Shukri Bey and were awaiting trial before the Independence Tribunals. There are grounds for believing that the Government had decided to use the Black Sea coast plot as the occasion for a drastic purge of the Opposition. Of the 154 deputies who voted against the proposal to extend the powers of the Independence Tribunals, the names of 150 have been published in the press. Of these, 15 have been arrested, 20 are in hiding, and 15 have fled the country. Of the remainder, many have been subjected to police supervision, and the movements of others are closely watched by the police. Many of the Opposition deputies have been deprived of their passports, and it is said that the Government intend to withdraw passports from all members of the Opposition. Those who have been arrested are charged with complicity in the Black Sea plot, and it is believed that the Government intend to bring them to trial before the Independence Tribunals. The Government have also taken steps to prevent the escape of Djem Bey, the leader of the Opposition, who is now in Paris.

8. The other effect of the division of the Opposition was to encourage the Government to proceed with the reforms which they had in contemplation. The votes were not nearly sufficient to enable them to push through the proposal to change the constitution, but they were sufficient to enable them to carry through the Assembly the Law of Vilayets, which was the first of the reforms which they had in contemplation. This law provides for the abolition of the Vilayet Councils, which have hitherto been elected by the people, and for the substitution for them of Councils nominated by the Government. The Government proposals also provide for the abolition of the Sanjak Councils, which have hitherto been elected by the people, and for the substitution for them of Councils nominated by the Government. The Government have also taken steps to prevent the escape of Djem Bey, the leader of the Opposition, who is now in Paris.

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2. A ce point de vue il est inutile de faire état du préjudice causé aux musulmans en cas de logement forcé des réfugiés d'Asie Mineure dans les maisons des particuliers. Le problème du logement de ces réfugiés est d'une telle envergure que cette mesure a dû être appliquée uniformément à toute classe et à toute section de la population.

3. Quant aux autres raisons alléguées par la nation dont dispose le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté démontre que le Gouvernement ottoman, la Société des Nations et la Commission mixte se sont toutes efforcées de faire disparaître tout sujet de plainte qui aurait pu exister.

4. Le Gouvernement hellénique de son côté a proféré des plaintes d'une nature catégorique qui paraissent réclamer des efforts analogues de la part du Gouvernement turc. Ces plaintes portent notamment sur :

(a) La légation de toutes les hommes valides qui devaient, d'après l'article 4 de la convention, former le premier contingent des Grecs à rapatrier se trouvent encore retenus en Anatolie ;

(b) La condition pitoyable où se trouvent les Grecs essentiellement sur les côtes de l'Asie Mineure dont des gouvernements consulaires seraient expédiés en Grèce sans que les dispositions y aient été prises d'avance ;

(c) Le fait que le Gouvernement turc qui a exonéré tous les déserteurs turcs, manque de les envoyer aux ports d'embarquement en temps voulu et retarde ainsi l'opération de l'échange ;

(d) Le refus de la légation du Gouvernement turc de permettre l'établissement de sous-commissaires mixtes sur les lieux mêmes de l'échange de façon à permettre au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté une surveillance efficace qui mettrait fin à des agissements qui, à la connaissance mixte, se produisent journellement à la Commission mixte siégeant à Athènes.

5. Des avis hebdomadaires semblant devoir être soumis à la Conférence, aussi pendant la durée de la présente session, il me paraît probable que le Secrétaire d'État ne sera pas surpris de recevoir, le 7 décembre au matin, le télégramme ci-dessus de l'Ambassade britannique à Athènes. Il rapportant les déclarations officielles faites à la Commission mixte à la suite d'une menace de mort exprimée par des Grecs de Constantinople et de la présence des consuls grecs à Athènes et existant en Grèce, dont le but semble être d'organiser jusqu'à une certaine mesure, sous leur contrôle, le boycottage économique de la Turquie. Le Gouvernement ottoman, au sujet de cette menace, soutient par suite de la non-communication du texte de son secours d'attirer l'attention de son Excellence sur les observations faites par le Ministère des Affaires étrangères sur cette menace et en faisant observer—au cas où elle n'aurait été exactement rapportée—que rien ne serait plus à même d'attirer les conséquences fâcheuses prévues qu'un avant-goût de la note précitée d'une telle action dirigée contre les sujets de Constantinople qui représentent des recettes dont les revenus sont très fortement exagérés et risqués, en tant qu'ils existent, toutes les parties intéressées se sont efforcées de porter remède.

*Constantinople, le 19 décembre 1923.*

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[E 12138/52/44] No. 121

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.* (*Received December 27.*)

(No. 851)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 19, 1923.*

With reference to my despatch No. 821 of the 11th December, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 13th December, the new Greek Patriarch, Gregory VII., was solemnly enthroned with the customary ecclesiastical ceremonial in the Patriarchal Church at the Phanar. The Patriarch came by water from Kadikeui, his former diocese, on the way to Phanar. After the ceremony he held a reception. No disagreeable incident of any sort occurred. The Rev. Mr. Borough, chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church, was present at the ceremony and reception.

2. Immediately after his enthronement the Patriarch addressed appropriate telegrams to Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Ismet Pasha, the Minister of Justice and the Governor-General of Constantinople. In his telegram to the President he stated



that on assuming his new functions he had offered up prayers for the prosperity and progress of the republic of our common country.

3. The Turkish Government has not modified the attitude of benevolence, of which it suddenly gave proof by expelling Papa Eftim from the patriarchate after his last raid, but it has avoided any official recognition of the new Patriarch. On the 17th December the Minister of Justice, in reply to a question in the Grand National Assembly, made the following statement:—

> "There is a great difference between the present position of the Church of Phanar and its position during the National struggle. Formerly, religious privileges existed in which the most important was that the patriarchate possessed a right of jurisdiction. The Greek and Armenian Patriarchates and the Rabbinates had acquired certain privileges granted as a favour by the State, but thank God these denominational privileges have disappeared. Those institutions have no longer any political or administrative functions. They are purely religious institutions. The ecclesiastics designated as spiritual heads have no other attributes. There was formerly a law respecting their election. There was a lay council. All this has ceased to exist. In the eyes of the State, the result of the election which has been held merely amounts to the election of a priest, a chief priest. The State has the right of inspection and control in these elections which are purely religious. The State cannot agree to the spiritual heads being elected from among foreign subjects. The electors and the elected must be our subjects. The Government has followed, and is following, the points which it was its duty to follow. We are not aware that foreign influence was exerted in the election, and we do not see that it could have been exerted. If it should have been, we should immediately annul the election. The Metropolitan of Kadikeui, who has been elected, is a Turkish subject who is occupied with his spiritual functions. He states that he has ceased the epithet to be congratulated, and has had prayers said in the churches for the happiness of the country. Papa Eftim is not the man of the Government. He is their servant and employee. Papa Eftim has stated that the elections did not insure independence. I am examining that matter. If this is a sample allegation it will not be taken into consideration. If an object is being pursued outside our national policy, or if a centre of sedition is being organised, the State will immediately perform its duty without hesitation or negligence."

4. Papa Eftim continues to rage against the new Patriarch, and has been endeavouring to induce the newly established Court of Independence to interest itself in the question of disloyalty in the patriarchate. There are no signs so far that he has had any success. The patriarchal authorities, on their side, are said to be conspirating with Eftim in the ecclesiastical courts for his outrages on religion.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative at Athens.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON

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[E 12083/54/44] No. 122.

*M. de Montille to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December 27.*)

LE Ministre des Affaires étrangères du Gouvernement d'Angora a écrit, le 25 octobre, à l'Office international d'Hygiène publique et au Comité permanent d'Hygiène de la Société des Nations, en les priant d'établir la liste des six médecins parmi lesquels le Gouvernement turc choisira les trois conseillers de l'Administration sanitaire des Frontières, conformément à la déclaration du 24 juillet 1923.

Le Gouvernement français estime que si cette liste porte les noms de médecins de nationalités neutres il est à craindre que ceux-ci soient choisis par le Gouvernement turc. La liste pourrait être composée de la façon suivante : deux noms anglais, deux français et deux italiens. Mais d'autre part, il conviendrait de s'entendre sur la liste que les médecins qui accepteront la situation offerte. Or, il paraît difficile d'obtenir leur consentement s'il n'est pas possible de leur indiquer à quelles conditions pécuniaires et autres ils seront au service du Gouvernement turc pendant une durée de cinq ans. Par exemple seront-ils obligés comme fonctionnaires turcs de porter le

ta secret même en dehors des cercles officiels. Il est à souhaiter que l'union des Assyriens avec les Arabes et les Kurdes soit sans doute le moyen le plus efficace pour les mener à une civilisation plus élevée.

Le Gouvernement français serait heureux de savoir si le Gouvernement britannique partage cette opinion.

Veuillez, &c.

*Ambassade de France, Londres*
*le 5 décembre 1923*

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FE 12100/84/65 No. 23

*Colonial Office to Foreign Office (Received December 24)*

Sir, *Downing Street, December 21, 1923*

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to transmit to you, for the information of the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, a copy of a secret despatch from the High Commissioner for Iraq on the subject of the future of the Assyrian race.

I am, &c.

J. E. MASTERTON-SMITH.

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Enclosure No. 123

*Sir H. Dobbs to the Duke of Devonshire*

(Secret.)

My Lord Duke, *Iraq Secretariat, Baghdad, December 11, 1923.*

I HAVE the honour to submit my suggestions for the future settlement of the Assyrian race.

I. Origin.—It is not necessary to discuss the origin of the Assyrians. Most of them are descendants of the Nestorian Christians who lived in the mountains of Turkish Kurdistan to the north-east of Mosul, and who fled from their homes during the war to the plains of Mosul and Kirkuk. A few are descendants of the Assyrians of Urmi, who were driven out of Persian territory by the Kurds. Both these classes are Christians, and speak a dialect of Syriac. They are commonly known as Nestorians, but they call themselves Assyrians, and I shall refer to them as such in this despatch.

(A) *Assyrians from Persian Territory.*

There are about 7,000 Christian Assyrians who have taken refuge in Iraq territory from Persian Kurdistan. They are supported entirely on rations issued by the Iraq Government. Most of them are living in tents in the plains of Mosul, but a few have been settled in villages in the Kirkuk district. Further settlement in Iraq territory is not desirable, as it would be contrary to the policy of the Iraq Government to encourage the Assyrians to remain as a separate community. It is also undesirable that they should be encouraged to look to Great Britain as the power which is to secure their future welfare. It is therefore proposed to withdraw rations from them as soon as possible, and to encourage them to return to their homes in Persian territory. There appears to be no reason why they should not be able to return to their villages in safety, as the Persian Government have undertaken to afford them protection, and the Persian Assyrians are not liable to the same oppression from the Kurds as they were before the war.

(B) *Assyrians from Turkish Territory now in Iraq and Syria.*

There is no prospect of the inclusion in Iraq of the Assyrian districts of Lewin, Norwar, Norte Kochanis, Dez Nouz, Van, Gavar, Mergavar, Tergavar, Shamsdinan and Marashe. I suggested to the refugees from these districts, who number about 6,000, that they might possibly be able to return to their homes under the same conditions as I have suggested for the Persian Assyrians, a British consul or vice-consul being again posted to Van. They refused to entertain this project. I explained to them that, as Iraq is, there was nothing to them but to settle under the Iraq Government, which would be advised by British advisers for some fifteen years, and who they could consequently trust not to oppress them for at least that period. After several sessions, they seemed to be reconciled to this idea, provided they could



be given permanent titles to Government lands in suitable places instead of being mere tenants at will, as at present. I ascertained that there were considerable tracts of Government lands in the Dohuk division which might be made available for Assyrian settlement, and desired the administrative inspector of Mosul to prepare a list of Government villages which could be examined for the purpose. This I have not yet received, but I have not wished to delay this despatch for the want of this receipt. These Assyrians complained that in many of the villages in which they had been temporarily settled they had been decimated by malaria, and they feared that this disadvantage would attach to any other villages which might be assigned to them in the sub-mountane tracts available for settlement. I found that in general malaria is excessively prevalent in all this neighbourhood, and that it attacks new settlers with particular virulence. But I am informed that in Dohuk it is almost equally bad throughout the original homes of these Assyrians, in spite of their greater elevation. They will not therefore be subjected to any new liability in their new villages. I recommend that the plan of the settlement of these Turkish Assyrians in Iraq be steadily pursued, and I will take the matter further as soon as I get the lists of lands for which I have asked.

(C) *Assyrians from Territory to be claimed for Iraq.*

5. The Assyrian tribes from territory which is to be claimed for Iraq are the Upper and Lower Tiari, Jelu and Baz Jelu and Ashiras, numbering in all about 14,000. Of these about 7,000 (mainly Upper and Lower Tiari and Tkhoma) have already returned to their homes, and more are expected to return next spring and to begin rebuilding their houses. The great difficulty hitherto has been the lack of big beams for the roofs, since all the big poplars growing in the open have been cut down by the Turks, and the cost of importing beams from elsewhere is prohibitive. In consequence they have to look forward to a long period during which they will have to live in temporary huts. I gathered that, when their country was given back to them by the Turks, the people with the exception of the Baz and Jelu Assyrians, every section of them, would be willing and ready to defend themselves as their mountain fastnesses as long as they could. Thus they appear to be admirably fitted, especially if they can be provided with ammunition. The Jelu and Baz tribesmen, on the other hand, feel that they would not return to their country if it were given back to the Turks, since the land is in many cases poor, and their sorties upon Turkish territory have given offence. It therefore the Turkish Tiari and Tkhoma and Baz country were to be given to Iraq, these tribesmen will have to be given land under the Iraq Government like other Assyrians who refuse to return to their homes under Turkey.

6. If the Turkish Tiari, Tkhoma and Jelu and Baz country were assigned to Iraq, those who had their interests at heart felt that they should become autonomous under British protection. I said that the Government had to manage to keep the mountainous part of their country free from the Kurds. They then said that they wished as little as possible to be interfered with, so long as possible. Having already consulted with the Prime Minister on this point, I told them that I believed that we could be brought to agree that they should live entirely as before, free from control similar to that formerly exercised over them by the Turks, we allowed them to choose their own headmen and to arrange for the collection and taxation of their taxes. They said that they would in the last resort, and very reluctantly, accept such an arrangement, provided that they could be regularly supplied with arms and ammunition to defend themselves against their neighbours, the Kurds, and provided also that they could have in charge of them a British consular officer who would be able to mediate between them and the Iraq Government. If this could be arranged, they would be willing to continue serving the Iraq Government in the levies. I pointed out that it might be arranged that a supply of ammunition should be sent up to them every year, but that I doubted whether it would be possible to assign a special British officer for their protection. There would for many years to come be a British administrative inspector at Mosul, and he would always be able to intervene effectively for their protection if necessary.

(D)—*Summary of Recommendations.*

7. My recommendations may be summarised as follows:—

(a) The Assyrian refugees from Persia, numbering in Iraq, should be encouraged to return to their homes, and will do so if Persia will guarantee that the

religious education of their children shall not be interfered with, and if a British consul or vice-consul can be appointed to Urumia to look after their interests.

(*b.*) The Assyrians from former Turkish districts not claimed for Irak, about 6,000 in number, will not return to their homes, and must be given suitable lands in the submontane districts of Irak. Such lands are likely to be available.

(*c.*) The Assyrians from former Turkish districts now claimed for Irak will all of them return to their homes if this claim is upheld, and will settle down in fair contentment under a loose form of subordination to the Irak Government, provided the British Government can guarantee the regular supply of ammunition to them. If these lands are returned to Turkey, the bulk will still remain in their homes and do their best to defend them; but the Jelu and Baz will not do so, and must be given lands in Irak as under (*b*).

8. I have written the foregoing on the assumption that no form of autonomous Assyrian State in the north of Irak can be seriously contemplated. The plan of Agha Petros for an Assyrian State, which is to include Mosul and Rowanduz, seems in any event so fantastic as hardly to merit examination. Such a State would comprise a majority of Arabs and Kurds hostile to the Assyrians, and the mere canvassing of such a project would alienate from the British Government all Moslem opinion throughout Irak, and would make the pursuit of our present policy towards Irak impossible. The adoption of such a project would fatally and permanently entangle us in the highlands of Central Asia. Nor can it be claimed that Great Britain is under any obligation to make for the Assyrians such heavy sacrifices as this plan would entail. The British had no need of the Assyrians in the war, and did not encourage them to rise against the Turks. It was the Russians who stirred them up, just at the time of the outbreak of the Russian revolution, and who then deserted them. The British rescued the remnant of the race, brought them round through Western Persia into Irak, supported them there for years at a cost of several million pounds, and have since then trained their young men to arms. If we now see that as many of the Assyrians as possible shall be resettled in their homelands with what security we can compass, and that the rest shall be planted in suitable spots in Northern Irak, we shall, in my opinion, have amply met any claims which they can be said to have upon us.

I have, &c.
H. DOBBS.

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[**E 12148/1019/65**] No. 124.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December* 27.)

(No. 544.)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Constantinople, December* 27, 1923.

TURKISH Government complain of reconnaissance flight of four aeroplanes on 5th December from direction of Rowanduz across "the frontier" over villages of Mavan Bisk and Chahnan.

They protest against violation of Turkish territory and ask that steps may be taken by competent authorities to prevent a recurrence.

Please telegraph your observations.

(Addressed to Bagdad, No. 14.)

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[**E 12197/8133/44**] No. 125.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December* 27.)

(No. 545.)
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, December* 27, 1923.

YOUR telegram No. 349.

I am unaware to what exact measures French Ambassador was referring, but see my despatch No. 813 of 5th December. Whole attitude of Angora in respect of Public Debt continues to be contrary to rights of European creditors, *e.g.*, abolition of spirit tax, seizure of debt revenues, control of debt agencies and other acts contrary to Decree of Muharrem, most recent of which was seizure of Chatalja assigned revenues, which up till this month had continued to be paid to Debt Administration.



It seems to me desirable that French Embassy itself should be asked to specify measures referred to, as I am somewhat apprehensive lest French Government may wish for parliamentary reasons to use a joint representation of ultimatum as an excuse for delaying ratification of treaty.

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[**E 12072/199/44**] No. 126.

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Henderson* (*Constantinople*).

(No. 350.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 27, 1923.

YOUR telegram No. 542 of 23rd December: Mr. Ryan.

You may certainly use your discretion in matter.

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[**E 12008/1019/65**] No. 127.

*The Marquess Curzon of Kedleston to Mr. Henderson* (*Constantinople*).

(No. 351.)
(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, December* 27, 1923.

YOUR telegrams Nos. 529 and 538 of 6th and 19th December: Mosul negotiations.

It has been decided that Sir P. Cox will represent His Majesty's Government in the verbal negotiations, and it is desirable that they should begin as soon as possible.

You may inform the Turks that we would still like the discussions to take place in London, but that if they prefer Constantinople we shall not object.

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[**E 11929/1019/65**] No. 128.

*Foreign Office to Colonial Office.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 29, 1923.

WITH reference to your letter of the 17th instant on the subject of the official representation of the Irak Government at the Mosul negotiations, I am directed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to inform you that his Lordship has invited Sir P. Z. Cox, G.C.M.G., to be the representative of His Majesty's Government at the forthcoming discussions, and that Sir P. Cox has accepted.

2. In view of Sir P. Z. Cox's close association with Irak during recent years, the Secretary of State considers that the need for approaching the Turkish Government, in the manner suggested in your letter, to secure the participation of an official Iraki representative at the negotiations no longer exists, and that local feeling on the subject will be satisfied with this choice.

3. There will, none the less, be no objection to the attendance of an Iraki expert in an advisory or technical capacity, as was pointed out in my letter of the 1st instant, and in this case no communication need be made to the Turkish Government at the present time.

I am, &c.
D. G. OSBORNE.

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[E 12246/11904/44] No. 129.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 853.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 22, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith, in continuation of my despatch No. 852 of the 19th instant, a copy of the Treaty of Friendship between Turkey and Hungary, which was signed on the 18th instant.

2. This copy has been supplied to me privately by M. de Kiss.

3. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's Minister at Budapest.

I have, &c.

NEVILE HENDERSON.

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Enclosure in No. 129.

*Traité d'Amitié entre la Hongrie et la Turquie.*

LA Hongrie, d'une part, et la Turquie, d'autre part, également et sincèrement désireuses d'établir et de consolider les liens de sincère amitié entre le Royaume de Hongrie et la République turque, et pénétrées de la même conviction que les relations entre les deux États, une fois établies, serviront à la prospérité et au bien-être de leurs nations respectives, ont résolu de conclure un Traité d'Amitié et ont à cet effet nommé pour leurs plénipotentiaires, savoir :

Son Altesse sérénissime le Gouverneur du Royaume de Hongrie : M. Alexandre Kiss de Nemesker, Chargé d'Affaires de Hongrie à Sofia ;

Le Président de la République turque : Le Dr. Adnan Bey, Député de Constantinople à la grande Assemblée nationale de Turquie et délégué à Constantinople du Ministère des Affaires étrangères,

Lesquels, après s'être communiqué leurs pleins pouvoirs, trouvés en bonne et due forme, ont convenu des dispositions suivantes :

ARTICLE 1er.

Il y aura paix inviolable et amitié sincère et perpétuelle entre le Royaume de Hongrie et la République turque, ainsi qu'entre les ressortissants des deux États.

ARTICLE 2.

Les hautes parties contractantes sont d'accord pour établir les relations diplomatiques entre les deux États conformément aux principes du droit des gens ; elles conviennent que les représentants diplomatiques de chacune d'elles recevront à charge de réciprocité, dans le territoire de l'autre, le traitement consacré par les principes généraux du droit international public général.

ARTICLE 3.

Les hautes parties contractantes sont d'accord pour régler les relations consulaires et commerciales entre leurs pays respectifs ainsi que les conditions d'établissement et de séjour dans les territoires de chacune d'elles des ressortissants de l'autre partie par des conventions qu'elles se réservent de conclure conformément aux règles du droit international public général sur la base d'une parfaite réciprocité.

ARTICLE 4.

Le présent traité sera ratifié et les ratifications en seront échangées à Angora le plutôt que faire se pourra. Il entrera en vigueur le quinzième jour après l'échange des ratifications.

En foi de quoi les plénipotentiaires respectifs ont signé le présent traité et y ont apposé leurs sceaux.

Fait en double, à Constantinople, le 18 décembre 1923.

S. DE KISS.
DR. ADNAN.

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[E 12254/10131/44] No. 130.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 862.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 26, 1923.

I HAVE the honour to report that M. Politis, a prominent member of the Greek delegation throughout the Lausanne Conference, who arrived here some weeks ago, left for Angora on the 22nd December in order to take up his duties as Greek Chargé d'Affaires. He was accompanied by his wife, a Greek lady of Constantinople origin, and a small staff.

2. During his stay here M. Politis was in relations with Adnan Bey and transacted a certain amount of business with him, but it was made clear that their relations were of an unofficial character. At one moment a rumour was put about that M. Politis would not be accepted as representative at Angora, but Adnan Bey himself contradicted this and the general attitude of the Turkish authorities has been scrupulously correct. Even the Turkish press, excepting a few comments at the time when the above rumour was circulated, has observed a reserved and inoffensive attitude regarding the Greek representative.

3. The only connection in which the Turkish press has been definitely offensive to the Greek Legation has been as regards a quite subordinate official one M. Stelianopoulos. This gentleman was, I understand, employed in the Greek High Commission during the armistice and seems to have incurred some odium. After M. Politis arrived here there was a good deal of agitation in the Turkish papers regarding M. Stelianopoulos. They insisted, I believe without foundation, that he was in reality a Turkish subject and suggested that he should be arrested and expelled. The Turkish authorities refrained from identifying themselves with this agitation which has now almost died down.

4. On his arrival at Angora on the 23rd December, M. Politis made a short statement to the press to the effect that reports regarding the appointment of a Greek Minister were premature ; that, for the present, representatives would be established in the respective capitals, and consuls at Constantinople and Salonica ; that his relations with Adnan Bey in Constantinople had been unofficial, but that he would be in official relations with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Angora ; and that he would present credentials.

5. The Turkish Chargé d'Affaires in Athens, Nebil Bey, has not yet left for his post.

6. I am sending a copy of this despatch to His Majesty's representative in Athens.

I have, &c.

NEVILE HENDERSON.

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[E 12265/199/44] No. 131.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 878.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 26, 1923.

SINCE my despatch No. 848 of the 19th instant was drafted, the Court of Independence has held five sittings. Three of them, held on the 19th, 20th and 24th December, were devoted to the trial of Lutfi Fikri Bey. That of the journalists was resumed on the 22nd December and continued on the 25th December. The proceedings, though of great local interest, are hardly worth reporting in detail. I will therefore confine myself to a general account of them.

2. The charge against Lutfi Fikri Bey was founded on two particular publications of his when the controversy about the Caliphate was at its height in November and a rumour had been put about that the Caliph meditated resignation. In the "Tanin" of the 10th November, he published an open letter to the Caliph urging him to stand firm in a situation in which his decision must affect the course of the history of Turkey and of Islam, and to avoid, even at the risk of death, the fall for ever of the dynasty. One of the editors of the "Aksham," Nejmuddin Sadik Bey, having

criticised this letter as being couched in language more appropriate to a Sultan than to a Caliph, and on other grounds, Lutfi Fikri Bey retorted, in an article which the "Tanin" preferred not to publish, and which therefore appeared in the "Aksham" itself on the 15th November. In this article Lutfi Fikri, after replying to Nejmuddin Sadik's criticisms under various heads, declared that national sovereignty, of which he was no less ardent a votary than his opponent, could be secured as well by a constitutional as by a republican system, that he himself preferred the former, and that to maintain a Caliphate without temporal power was impossible.

3. The prosecution maintained that these publications were contrary to the decision of the 1st November, 1922, regarding the Sultanate and the Caliphate, and to article 1 of the Law on Treason as amended by the Grand National Assembly's decision of the 15th April, 1923, a decision the importance of which was explained in Sir Horace Rumbold's despatch No. 239 of the 18th April. At the first hearing on the 19th December, Lutfi Fikri was closely examined as to his views and replied with caution, but with a stoutness which drove the President of the Court to the point of thumping the table. Next day, after the examination of the accused had been completed, the Public Prosecutor delivered himself of an impassioned *réquisitoire*, two features of which are worth mentioning. Reproaching Lutfi Fikri with his preference for a constitutional system, an expression which was used throughout in the sense of institutional monarchy, he indulged in a violent tirade against the House of Osman. In the past its members had ceded territories steeped in Turkish blood to secure Greek and Serbian girls. During the national struggle a Sultan and Caliph, making religion his tool by the abuse of fetvas, had made common cause with the enemy, and members of that House had disported themselves at balls with enemy officers, whilst the nation shed tears of blood. Secondly, the Public Prosecutor, replying to a suggestion by Lutfi Fikri that his opponent in the "Aksham" controversy should himself have been prosecuted for raising the issue of how the Caliph should be elected, declared significantly that no law forbade the discussion of this question. He concluded his *réquisitoire* by asking that Lutfi Fikri should be condemned under articles 1 and 2 of the Law on Treason.

4. This *réquisitoire* left some doubt as to whether the Public Prosecutor was asking for a death sentence or not. Article 2 of the law prescribes the capital penalty for treason, but probably admits of a lesser sentence in the case of accessories, and article 3 provides for penal servitude in the case of persons inciting others to treason provided no seditious outbreak ensues. At the last hearing on the 24th December, after two lawyers had spoken for the defence and Lutfi Fikri had restated his position with some courage, the Public Prosecutor again left it uncertain whether he was asking for a capital sentence or not. It seems probable, however, that he intended his first *réquisitoire* as a demand for such a sentence, for on the second occasion he stated explicitly that, if Lutfi Fikri should escape under article 1, he would still be liable under article 3 of the law. Apart from this, the most notable feature of the Public Prosecutor's language on the 24th December was the manner in which, before rebutting certain legal arguments, based on the wording of the law, which had been used by the defence, he laid down the principle that a republican Public Prosecutor was not confined within the narrow framework of laws and procedures.

5. The proceedings of the 24th December ended the trial, but the court reserved sentence.

6. The resumed hearing of the case against the four journalists on the 22nd December presented few features of general interest. The accused were again examined very closely in the case of Jahid and Velid Beys, more or less formally in the other two cases. It was considered significant that the court went back to certain matters antecedent to the publication of the Aga Khan–Amir Ali letter, such as past publications in the "Tanin," and Jahid Bey's alleged relations with the French when he restarted his paper in 1922. At this hearing Jahid Bey, who is undoubtedly the leading personality among the accused, gave as good as he got, and even succeeded once or twice in making the outside public laugh with him, to the indignation of the court. Among the elements in his defence, he cited the Aga Khan's letter in the "Times" of the 17th December. In this connection I may mention that no local paper has dared to reproduce Sayyid Amir Ali's letter in the "Times" of the 14th December, but that of the Agha Khan was widely reproduced after Jahid Bey had made use of it in court. The ever suspicious Turkish mind has conceived the idea that the latter letter may have been written with the express object of saving the accused journalists.



7. On the 25th December the Public Prosecutor delivered his *réquisitoire* in the case of the journalists. It was in striking contrast with that against Lutfi Fikri. He intimated pretty clearly that the Agha Khan and Amir Ali must be regarded as tools used by a foreign Power in connection with intrigues concerning the Caliphate, but he exonerated the journalists from any complicity with those two persons. The fault of the journalists had consisted of publishing the letter, which had itself been drawn up with an ulterior motive. It might have been possible to take a lenient view of their conduct had it been possible to lay hands on the authors of the letter. As it was, the journalists must be punished. The Public Prosecutor asked for the condemnation of Velid, Jahid and Ahmet Djevdet Beys under article 3 of the Law on Treason, *i.e.*, the article prescribing penal servitude for incitations to treason not followed by seditious outbreaks. He condemned Velid Bey more strongly than the others on the ground of his lukewarmness regarding the republic and his use of religion for political ends. Jahid Bey he admitted to be a true blue Republican, and he asked the court to admit extenuating circumstances in his case. He exonerated the responsible managers of the "Tevhid-i-Efkiar" and the "Ikdam" (one of whom had not been present at the trial at all) and asked for their acquittal. The hearing was adjourned till the 29th December to allow the accused and their lawyers to prepare their defence.

8. The Court of Independence appears to have made one further arrest during the past week. The person arrested, or at any rate placed under surveillance, is one Edhem Hidayet, a young Khoja, accused of having delivered reactionary sermons in the Conqueror's Mosque in Stamboul, and more particularly of having published a pamphlet on "Morals and the Veil in Islam." This man's case was already in the hands of the ordinary judicial authorities, but seems to have been taken over by the Court of Independence. It had not previously come to my notice, and I have not been able to procure a copy of the incriminating pamphlet. It is significant of the rapid progress in free thought in this country that such ideas as that of the veiling of women, advocated by men like Edhem Hidayet, should have come to be associated in the minds of the new rulers of Turkey with political reaction.

9. Some surprise has been occasioned in Constantinople by the acquittal at Adana of Abdul Kadir Kemali Bey, whose arrest at that place was reported in my despatch No. 848 of the 19th December. His acquittal is the more remarkable as, in defending himself, he strongly attacked Ismet Pasha. He was tried by an ordinary court, and it seems probable that his local influence counted for a good deal.

10. During the earlier part of the last week no notable developments were reported from Angora. Within the last three days, however, an acute situation has arisen in the Grand National Assembly. Two Opposition Deputies had lodged a motion that all sentences of the Constantinople Court of Independence should be subject to review by the Assembly. The Committee on Drafts recommended at a sitting, which Ismet Pasha himself attended, that this motion should not be entertained. When the motion came back to the Assembly with this recommendation on the 24th December, there was a debate so violent that the President was compelled to suspend the sitting to prevent the Deputies from coming to blows. The sitting was resumed later in the day. Ismet Pasha practically made the question one of confidence, and, on a division, 100 Deputies supported the Government, while 31 voted against it and 4 refrained from voting. This vote was invalidated by the fact that the total number of Deputies present did not constitute a quorum. The discussion was adjourned to the 26th December. According to telegrams from Angora it was anticipated yesterday that there would again be a hot conflict, but that the Government would win, and that the upshot of the episode might be a purge of the People's party.

I have, &c.
NEVILE HENDERSON.

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[E 12266/4900/44] No. 132.

*Mr. Henderson to the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston.*—(*Received December* 31.)

(No. 879.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 26, 1923.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 1153, dated the 14th instant, enclosing a copy of Mr. Leeper's despatch No. 530 relative to the ratification by the Polish Diet of the Turco-Polish Treaty signed at Lausanne on the 23rd July last, I have

the honour to report that, on the motion of Ismet Pasha, the Treaty of Friendship, as well as the Commercial and "Établissement" Conventions, was in turn ratified by the Turkish Assembly on the 12th instant.

2. In presenting the treaty to the Assembly the reporter of the Foreign Affairs Commission drew attention to the old-standing friendship between the two countries. Turkey had never, he said, recognised the partition of Poland, and had never even sent consular officers to Polish areas. These treaties had now been concluded with an independent Poland, containing 200,000 Turks and Moslems, and they would, he hoped, further cement the ancient friendship. On the conclusion of this speech the treaty and conventions were separately submitted to the Assembly and approved, amid cries of "Long live the Polish Republic!" and "Long live Turkey!"

I have, &c.

NEVILE HENDERSON.

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